

The ENGLISH SPEAKING MBOS of CAMEROON

Economic Development and Historical Perspective:
1885-1922

An Assessment Report of J. W. C. Rutherford



Edited by
Esendugue G. Fonsah & Epah F. Fonkeng

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Preface

The Mbos of Cameroon are a large ethnic group in present day Cameroon and an important and powerful group until the Anglo-French partition. Following the defeat of the colonial power, Germany, in the First World War (WWI), the League of Nations [now United Nations] in a March 1916 Mandate, partitioned the territory into two unequal halves among the victorious imperial powers of England and France, to be governed in trust as from 1922. Following the partition, the Mbos, who happened to find themselves right along the lines of division, were, thus, thrust under French and English administration, respectively. Roughly two thirds of the Mbos found themselves in what had then become French (East) Cameroon, and thus, they became francophones. The remaining one third was thrust under British rule, thus becoming West Cameroonians and Anglophones.

The Mbo cluster can be categorized into five sub-groups according to the variety of the language that they speak, namely: Lekongho, Lefo, Bafun, Babong and Kitchui. The Nkonghos speak a variety of the language called *Lekongho*. The *Miengge* is also spoken by Bebum, Bassossi, Banyu and Onyu. The *Sambo* is spoken by Melong, Sanzo, and Kekem. The *Akosse* is spoken by Bakossi, Elung, Ninnang, Mwambong, Bangem, Abongoe and *Ngemgoe* is spoken by Baneka, Bakaka, Manengouba, Mouamenam, Manchas, Balondo and Babong (Ayompe, 1987).

Today the Mbos, as a whole, occupy parts of the Littoral and Western (Francophone) and Southwest (Anglophone) regions of Cameroon. This 'dual citizenship' of the ethnic group has thus stayed in place to this day, with the only adjustments occurring within the context of the now-and-then administrative shifts that have taken place. For example, Anglophone Mbos have found themselves variously under Mamfe [later to become Manyu] then Meme and now Kupe-Mwaneguba Division. Linguistic studies have also shown that "the Bafaw, Balong, Mbo, Bakossi and Bassossi recognize that they belong to a single group of people and that they are related to their brothers of the Oroko cluster" (Ayompe, 1987).

While the Francophone Mbos have, over the decades, benefited from all aspects of economic, social, political, and agricultural development, the Anglophone Mbos, consisting of the Nkonghos and the Mangens, have been isolated and deprived of all the outward and physical (tangible) aspects of socio-economic and political progress. The reasons for this, as one author puts it, “we ignore, but we figure it has much to do with the smallness of the group, compared to the other clans, especially after the set up of the provisionary boundaries, and its consequent absence of influence on the aggregate political, social and economic structure and system of the country” (Fonsah and Epah, 2003).

We take a step back to note that the Mangens have fared just slightly better than the Nkonghos when it comes to the generally accepted criteria of economic and infrastructural development since the country attained political independence. This can be attributed mainly to their continued presence and more or less successful lobbying at the heart of the Cameroon political power structure in Buea (West Cameroon) and later Yaounde (when the two Cameroons became one). On the other hand, the Nkongho Mbos, apolitical and short in, among other things, strategic skills and a deep sense of common purpose, have earned for themselves nothing but extreme marginalisation, depression and underdevelopment.

Since not much has been written and published about the British Mbo sub-group, it has become paramount for the descendants of this ethnic sub-group to search for and record for posterity their identity and history. Our effort seeks to update on diverse aspects of the study conducted on the British Mbos by J.W.C. Rutherford and others as a first step toward what we hope will be a comprehensive publication on the Anglophone Mbos.

To facilitate the flow of text and reader comprehension of this report [which dates back nearly a century] the editors have rearranged the chapter format of the work and dispensed with the section numbers. Added is a glossary of names of places and people (used by the authors) in their modern day spellings.

Worthy of mention is the fact that Rutherford's report falls within the *comparative tradition* of some European scholarship. That tradition assumes colonialism as a '*mission civilisatrice*' with stark

ethnocentrism as a perfectly legitimate avenue of inquiry. Rutherford's report on Anglophone Mbos contains its share of ethnocentric biases – much of which was sprinkled about liberally not so much for some higher academic purpose but to titillate the senses. For every such ethnocentric claim, the editors have drawn the reader's attention (through *Editors' Notes*) to instances demonstrating the sheer brutality of the 'mission civilisatrice' by putting many of the claims made by Rutherford into context.

Throughout this study, these terms are used interchangeably: French, French-speaking or Francophone Mbos on the one hand, and British, English-speaking or Anglophone Mbos on the other. The original work was in paragraphs but the editors have changed the format to chapters. In the edited format, para 1 (#1) has been changed to 1.1 meaning paragraph 1 of chapter 1. In the same logic, para. 187 (#187) is now 8.187 meaning paragraph 187 of chapter 8. We have also included a glossary which clarifies and explains the present meanings and appellations used by Rutherford. A conversion table was also added to facilitate readability as different currencies were mentioned in the original text such as the German Mark (DEM), the British Pound (£), feet, yards etc. Photographs were included to enliven the work and clarify certain aspects of the report. Finally, all photographs are provided courtesy of Professor E.G. Fonsah, University of Georgia, Tifton, GA, USA.

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Epah F. Fonkeng

Acknowledgments

We would like to recognize Dr. Shirley Ardener, Founding Director of the Center for the Cross-Cultural Study of Women, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, United Kingdom, who put tremendous pressure on us to come up with something/a book about the Nkongho-Mbos as “little was known or has been written about them” according to her. Our first contact was two decades ago when she read the book, *Economics of banana production and marketing in the tropics: A case study of Cameroon*, 1995, by Fonsah and Chidebelu, Minerva Press, London. While visiting at the University of Buea (UB) that year, she invited the co-author (E.G. Fonsah) and they discussed the book in greater details over lunch at the then Buea Mountain Hotel, including similar publications of hers.*

It was during this encounter that Shirley Ardener discovered the origin of the editors and outright made her demand. More-so she insisted the editors become members of the Association of Friends of Archives and Antiquities, Buea, Cameroon, especially the Archives of Buea which she and her late husband Edwin Ardener, created in 1969 and which later provided one of the preponderant supporting documents that helped Cameroon's case against Nigeria over the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsular. It is also due to her persistence that the editors started research on the subject matter (Nkongho-Mbos) when they accidentally stumbled on J.W.C. Rutherford's “Assessment Report on the British Section of the Mbo Tribal Area of Cameroon”. The editors believe this review would provide a solid foundation and/or reference book on further/future studies of this “little known” and marginalized area of Nguti Sub-Division, Southwest Region of the Republic of Cameroon.

Although several scholars have had access and quoted portions of this assessment report in their works/research, this is the first time that the work will be available in its entirety and given full credit to the original author, J.W.C. Rutherford deserves for his scholarly research work. The editors have spent several years researching on the author or any member of his family to no avail.

We are equally thankful to Ian Fowler, retired lecturer in social anthropology at the Oxford Brookes University for his valuable

insight and advice in the initial stages of this project. We are indebted to so many individuals who contributed in one way or the other, some of whom, unfortunately, we cannot remember.

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Finally, our profound gratitude goes to Kailan Liu Fonsah, Derrick Bebongho Fonsah, Leilani Ebongkie-Jean Fonsah, Theresia Njila and Ewokolo Mary Likie for their support during the life of the project.

Esendugue G. Fonsah
Epah F. Fonkeng

* Shirley Arderners publications are listed in the Recommended Reading and Bibliography section of this book.

Conversion Units

Conversion to International System Units

To convert from (U.S. Units)	To (IS Units)	Multiply By
Acre	Hectare (ha)	0.404
Pound (lbs)	Kilogram (kg)	0.453
Pound (lbs)	Ton	0.0005
Ibs/acre	Kg/ha	1.1209
\$/acre	\$/ha	2.471
\$1 (US\$ or US dol)	Xaf (CFA Franc BEAC)	583.75*
£1 (British Pound)	Xaf (CFA Franc BEAC)	915.202*
1 DEM (German Mark)	Xaf (CFA Franc BEAC)	335.3855*
1 € (Euro)	XAF (CFA Franc BEAC)	655.76*
1 XAF (CFA Franc BEAC)	DEM (German Mark)	0.0030*
1 XAF (CFA Franc BEAC)	US\$ (US dol)	0.0017*
1 XAF (CFA Franc BEAC)	£ (British Pound)	0.0011*
1 XAF (CFA Franc BEAC)	€ (Euro)	0.0015*
1 £ (British Pound)	DEM (German Mark)	2.73019
1 DEM (German Mark)	£ (British Pound)	0.366275
1 Gallon (gal)	Liter	3.7854
1 Liter (l)	Gal (gallon)	0.2642
1 Foot (ft)	Meter (m)	0.3048
1 Meter (m)	Feet (ft)	3.2808
1 Yard	Meter	0.9144
1 Meter	Yard	1.09361

*May 12, 2015 exchange rate

Introduction

The area embraces the three sectors of the Mbo tribe marked on Moisel K.I. as Nkongwa, Kabo, and Ndu. The former includes the villages of Fonke, Fonjungo, Fowung and Fonwen; the latter those of Etawang, Elumba, Nssoa, Tanga, Kamalumpé, Hunyapa and Fotabong Koa. Moisel does not show Fonke and Fonjungo under those names, but they appear on the map attached. The unit is not homogeneous being composed of two Clans of the Mbo tribe which itself would be a better subject for report were it all under British Administration.

The Anglo-French Provisional Boundary however has left two-thirds of the Mbo under the French, including the areas of Singam, Ntsem, Esuaku, Mankwe, Mama, Efongua, Fongang, Eschiowi, Ntsingang and Sanchu, and has even divided the Mangen clan, assigning to the French its original home with the Clan Head and to the British seven out of eight of the constituent villages. The subject of the report is therefore "The Nkongwa and Mangen Clans in the British section of the Mbo Tribal Area".

At the start of assessment the name of the area proved a difficulty. Moisel's map described the north-east territory belonging to the Nkongwa tribe, the south-east to the Ndu, and the remainder to the Kabo; the tax register of the former Chang Division arranged the villages within these groups differently from Moisel; and in actual practice from the first German occupation until the Anglo-French partition of the Chang Division in 1920 Nkongwa, Kabo and Ndu had been included in the Mbo tribe for administrative and judicial purposes. Further, the Nkongwas spoke of the Kabo as Mbo, and in common talk among both Nkongwa and Kabo neither the names Kabo nor Ndu was in use. The result of assessment has been to reveal two clans Nkongwa and Kabo forming part of the Mbo tribe of which the other constituent clans lie within French territory

The names Kabo and Mbo are stated to have been given by the Germans. The native description of the eight villages composing the Kabo clan is Mangen 'the children of Ngen', and as Nkongwa is also a group term describing 'the sons of a common ancestor', the

assessment area is best termed the territory of the Nkongwa and Mangen clans of the Mbo tribe, and the name Ndu which covers on Moisel the British villages of Fotabong Koa, Hunyapa, Mboa-Kamalumpe and the French village Mbokampo should be abandoned. On the British side of the escarpment it would not appear to be recognized.

The area of this district is 314.54 square miles (814.65 km²). The Nkongwa clan occupies 44.93 square miles (116.37 km²) and the Mangen 269.61 (698.29 km²). Its greatest length as the crow flies from the Mfu River to the junction of the Nghe and Edikan rivers is twelve miles (19.31 km) and its breadth from the Ogu River to the French boundary above Fonjungu is 21.33 miles (34.33 km).

The density of population is 16.01 to the square mile (41.44 km²). Nkongwa is thickly populated with 51.13 inhabitants to the square mile (132.43 km²), and Mangen very thinly with only 10.16 (26.31 km²). Against this must be set the fact that out of 269.61 square miles (698.29 km²) of Mangen territory only 67.40 square miles (174.57 km²) are inhabited. The remainder is a 'No Man's Land' dating from the pre-European period of unceasing enmity with the Banyangs of the West. The approaches to Mangen from the Banyang villages of Tali, Fotabe, or Eyang are through a six hour stretch of deserted forest. The Mangen density of population is more accurately stated at 40.63 (105.23 km²) and the figure for the whole inhabited area at 44.84 to the square mile (116.14 km²).

The population of Nkongwa totals 2,299, that of Mangen 2,739 and of both together 5,038. Assuming the proportion of women and children to have remained constant, and estimating the totals from the known numbers of taxable males this shows a decline since 1913 of 937. The last German census would seem to have been held in 1913, but only the numbers of taxable males have been preserved. Some reasons for the decline are given below (see 1.91).

Geographical Boundaries

The area is situated between Latitude 5 degrees 18 minutes and 5 degrees 22 minutes and Longitude 9 degrees 40 minutes and 9 degree 56 minutes. It is bounded on the north and west by the Mamfe Division, on the east by French Chang, and on the south by the Kumba Division. More particularly, on the north it marches with the

Foreke, Fotabong III, and Fontem clans of the Bangwa tribe, and with Takwa the outlying village of the Banyang tribe; on the west with a stretch of forest separating it from Eastern Banyang; on the south with the Mbame village of the Basossi tribe – a tribe related to the Mangen; and on the east with the Mbokambo village of the Mangen clan, and further north with Fongdongera – a powerful Bamilike unit.

The territory has three distinctive features: the forests, the rivers and the mountains, each of which has influenced local history. The stretch of forest surrounding Mangen on the north, west and south has enabled it to preserve until the last generation the primitive and isolated culture of cannibalism, while from the mountains at its back have descended from time to time fresh colonists from Mbokambo either voluntarily or under pressure. The naked quadrilateral of Mount Koa, the reputed birthplace of the clan, raises to the south its sheer 3000 feet (914.40 m).

Editors' Note:

With respect to the numerous instances of and flippant aspersions, a lot of ink could be spilled and there would still be no agreement over the context in which terms such as primitive, cannibal etc are used. Such racist renditions saturate early European accounts of distant lands and cultures. These were meant to denote something believed to be of inferior status or quality. This is, of course, in apposition to an unbiased philosophical analysis which sees primitive more as an uncontaminated state in harmony with the design by a HIGHER Force. As it has come to be amply demonstrated, such exaggerated accounts were meant to justify and drum up support for the imperial mission of rape before the powers that be and audiences back home.

Burnings at the stake, over 'sacrilegious' utterances and other similar 'crimes' in Europe only a few hundred years back would hardly make the author [and the civilization for which he portends to be an ambassador] a qualified judge over the 'primitive culture' of the Mbos. Objective analysis sees such hedonization of Mbo, nay African civilisation, as the failure to correctly interpret and attest to the fundamental orientation between the two. Caucasian Thought centres around a mono conceptualization of the universe. To the African, on the contrary, man belongs to the realms of Spirit and Matter and he thus operates freely between and across these realms. And not even the realm of matter can be reduced to even a dualistic conception. The essence, for the African, is balance as he straddles back

and forth the continuum of being – in body, spirit and soul. Of course, what imperialism has done has been, precisely, to foist on, with an unmatched savagery, a novel (Caucasian) ‘world view’ and yardstick on matters of ethics and morality.

From the semicircle of the escarpment the Osu (or Fi) and the Nghe torrents rush down to form boundaries to the north and south before uniting in the forest of the west to flow with the Mfu into the head waters of the Manyu. The Mo River, a tributary of the Fi, rises near Fotabong Koa and bisects the Mangen lowlands.

The Nkongwa clan inhabits the eastern slopes of the Fi valley and controls that half of the palm belt, towards which the downward pressure of Bangwa and Bamileke has ever been exerted. The ideal conditions for the growth of the oil palm – plenty of water and an elevation of 2000 feet (609.60 m) are here exactly met.

But of the three features the escarpment is in every way most striking. It sweeps from north to south with an easterly bend and attains along the crest 3657 feet (1,114.7 m) at Mount Koa, 4344 feet (1,324.1 m) above Fonjungo, 4,800 feet (1,463.0 m) above the source of the Fi. A spur runs west by north to divide the Fi from the Mo and separates Nkongwa from Mangen, while another descending from Mount Koa forms along the course of the Nghe River the Mangen boundary with Basossi. Here as throughout its length the escarpment rises like a wall, and looking from above Hunyapa Po the climber can on a clear day see Nda Ali, the mountain dominating Mamfe and Tinto and the hills above Widekum and Mamfe.

Unlike the Nkongwa, who are all mountaineers, the Mangen live half in the foothills and half on the mountain side. The villages of Etawang, Nssoa, Elumba and Tanga are a lowland group united by the German bridle road from Fontem to Kamalumpe, and showing by tradition and daily practice a closer intercourse than is possible between them and the hill villagers of Kamalumpe, Fotabong Koa, and Hunyapa. Easier communications among themselves and to the clan market have brought together the four villages of the plain, while the opposite physical influences have left the upland three (Kalamumpe, Fotabong Koa and Hunyapa) separate.

The soil is poor and exceedingly stony even among the foothills. It produces subsistence and very little more. The humus layer is thin and the subsoil rock. The westward tendency of migration has not yet

planted the Mbo in the more fertile forest, though Sandong a hamlet of Tanga is a Mangan exception, and the descent of the Fonwen chief from his mountain crest to the banks of the Fi at Fonwen II would indicate that hostile neighbours have been a more powerful check than natural reluctance.

Conditions in the rainy season among the Nkongwa and the hill section of Mangan are those already described by Mr. Cadman in his Bangwa Report. Heavy rains (3 mm 40" monthly) is diversified by Scotch mists and often driven by blasts directed by the mountain gorges. At Fotabong Koa, a gale drove straight down the mountain on to the village during three out of four evenings of the party's stay. Storms are frequent towards the end of March, by the middle of May the rains are hard set, and the dry season begins in November. One hundred and fourteen inches per annum, the average figure for the intermediate zone would be a fair guess at the average rainfall.

Editor's Note:

The mountaineous topography of Nkongbo-Mangan country is not only responsible for this above-average rainfall but also accounts for this area as the source of important river systems including the Mungo and Manyu-Cross rivers.

The German habit of approaching both clans from the east left the course of the three rivers only roughly traced. During assessment the Mangan area has been twice entered from the west, and while the traverse from Tali to Etawang has confirmed the position of the Amo and Mfu Rivers, that from Fotabe to Tanga would indicate (see sketch) that the junction of the Fi with the Nghe is much further north than shown on Moisel. On that journey the Fi was crossed once only.

Minerals Present

The inexpert eye detected no valuable minerals. As was to be expected in such a region igneous rocks formed the main strata and among the foothills of Kamalumpe (round the hamlets of Mejom and Edikan) and at Etoji-Elumba mica was abundant in small flakes. The offer of a small reward did not produce any pieces of a workable size, that is to say of more than a foot square. The thorough and unsuccessful search of the Manyu River in 1921 by various assaying

parties renders unlikely the presence of gold or tin in workable quantities among the more torrential head waters.

Water Supply

The area is well watered throughout. In addition to the three main rivers already mentioned the Amo, the Edikan, the Mpula, and the Koa are all streams of twenty feet in width (6.10 m). Each hamlet has one stream at least to supply its wants, and from the watershed of the escarpment innumerable feeders run in to the main streams.

Historical: The Evolutionary Principles Governing Mangen and Nkongwa History

Nkongwa and Mangen, insignificant clans though they are, display in their past and present historical phases of interest. In Nkongwa can be seen in actual progress the growth of the tribe from the clan, the struggle of one primitive culture to supersede another yet more primitive. In Mangem there is moulding but not yet set the construction of a homogeneous clan from a number of scattered families. The imperial examples held up by Maine of family origins and tribal extensions have here their humble parallels.

The absence of written record, the natural caution of informants, and their desire to interpret past events in the light of the present insist that inquiry should work backwards. In the retelling as nearly as may be the story of the German conquest and of the foreign relations of the two clans during the preceding generation the unifying influence of outside pressure, the difficulties that it has left, and the lines of development it has laid down will gradually emerge.

The German Conquest: 1903-1905

For Mangen as for Bangwa contact with the European began with the German Manjipari (see Bangwa Assessment Report paragraph 36). Manjipari first appeared about 1898 at the Ekobum hamlet of Kamalumpe on his way from 'The Beach' to Fontem. He was accompanied by a Monrovia interpreter whose rendering of his master's name has been perpetuated and by a hound so big that the Mangen natives attribute the German attack on Fontem to its death at the hands of the Bangwas.

Editor's Note:

The beach refers to the port of disembarkation, which would be either Victoria or Donala seaport.

Awte the hamlet Head at Ekobum induced his own hamlet, the hamlets of Edikan, Mejom, and Ndom, and perhaps that of Mboa to supply Manjipari with carriers, and his tactful handling of the European secured him the title of Kamalumpe (Kama 'small-pox' and Hulimpe 'axe') and an ascendancy over the heads of the two main families (Meku and Mebong) in the four neighboring hamlets, which his successors have ever since retained.

Editors' Note:

As the above example shows, colonialism can be assailed on several fronts nonetheless the deliberate creation of wedges and sowing the seeds of discord for the post-colonial society – through, among other tactics, favouritism.

The death of Manjipari after going, coming, and returning through Mangel territory did not have any immediate local result. The Germans advanced on Fontem from Tinto, and it was not till they had crushed Fontem about 1902 that they began an active interest in the east and south. About that date seven soldiers from Tinto appeared at Etawang and shot a few women. In consequence on Taku was set to Tinto, and returned with a flag and a certificate for Tainyi Kang the most influential family head of the lowland group. This flag and certificate were seized by two officers who came almost immediately with soldiers from Fontem and pointed out that the Tainyi Kang group (the present Etawang, Elumba, Nssoa, and Tanga) were under their control. The payment of a second tusk of ivory prevented further trouble.

Editors' Note:

'Superman' claims alluded to elsewhere in this Report as to the treatment of women (section 10.221) must, accordingly, be matched against instances as the above – massacre of women - which expose the sheer brutality of the 'mission civilisatrice'.

In spite of their nominal acceptance of German suzerainty the Mungen became uneasy at the rumours of fighting among the Nkongwa in the east, and when labour was demanded to build a road along the line of Manjipari's march from Kamalumpé to Fontem, the occasion was seized to get rid of the Germans.

A soldier's cook, one of a labour catching party, was killed near Ndom Kamalumpé, and as by then the Germans were threatening Mbokambo, the seat of the clan head, all Mungen assembled to prevent the passage of the Osu (Fi River) at Etawang (1904 circ.). Survivors narrate that in spite of a German machine gun which caused very great loss, a determined individual cut the hammock bridge and the Germans retired. The clan dispersed thinking that they had seen the last of them.

Meanwhile the Germans had from Fontem been steadily pressing down the plateau to the east through Fongdonera and Fossong Wentchen (see Moisel Karte V), and in 1904 (circ.), they descended on the Nkongwa valley through Fonke and from the north through Foreke Tscha Tscha. Fonkennya was occupied and raids organized thence for a year, until seeing the impossibility of cultivation. Fonjungo took the lead and arranged the usual terms of surrender on payment of ivory and the promise of labour. From that time dates the assured position of Fonjungo whom the Germans regarded as the greatest influence in the valley. The immediate result was to place under Fonjungo the Bangwa village of Folepe, which like Fonkennya had been in the direct line of the German advance, besides Fonkennya and Fowung, hitherto independent Nkongwa hamlets. As will later appear the change was fundamental.

In 1905 the final advance was made upon Mungen by forces operating through Nkongwa and Nguti or Kokobuma in the Kumba Division. Mungen informants profess that they were absolutely surprised, but the almost instantaneous negotiations would imply that they had noted events in Nkongwa. Ekpansu-Hunyapa resisted; and Fotabong Koa, which was burnt for its palms, twice repulsed small parties before finally submitting.

Until the outbreak of 1904 Tainyi Kang, head of Etawang, had retained the headship of the four villages of the plain, Tanga, Nssoa, Elumba and Etawang. But after that Ewunkumpe of Elumba had been

sent to negotiate the Germans started the system of official chiefs, and crystallized the scattered collections of family groups that had looked to Tainyi Kang as their leader into the four named villages under recognized chiefs responsible to the administration. At Elumba and Nssoa, the German nominees were not the leading elders of the families concerned.

Editors' Note:

Apart from cold-blooded murders in several forms, the forceful and cunning overturning of the existing system of chieftancy was, perhaps, the most fundamental blow toward the capitulation to German suzerainty.

The negotiation brought out the difference between the Plain and the Mountain. While the former had co-operated the latter were handled individually. The chief family head in Kamalumpe, Fotabong Koa, and the Po hamlet of Hunyapa sent separate emissaries, and in every case the Germans ultimately chose this envoy to be the official chief.

Editors' Note:

The German, whether mistakenly or on purpose, substituted these emissaries for the real chiefs leading to further destabilization of clans. These actions, far from being seen as some isolated acts, constituted a refined imperial strategy (albeit brutal as far as the indigines were concerned) to effectively control colonial subjects. For example, the crystallization of settlements must be understood within the context of the search for more efficient ways to collect taxes.

The German Organization Of Nkongwa And Mangen

On the cessation of hostilities, the two clans were definitely organized on the usual German plan. Probably because of the resistance encountered the center of control was transferred to the new military post of Mbo – about six hours south east of Fonjungo (see photograph).



Photo 2.1: Picture taken in 1994.

Editor's Note:

This is where the German's military post was installed. It is called "Ngongo". About 100 meters from the road path to the left, can still be seen the German cannon left behind after they were defeated by the joint British and French troops during WWI. The Germans used the hill-top of Ngongo to track down enemy troops, as one can see as far as Melong on a fine day without using binoculars. Also, captured Nkongho elements during the hostile days were held in this German post where they worked for the Germans - of course, for free. Ngongo is a historic site for the British Mbos, albeit one with a bitter taste.

In Mangan groups of families were crystallized into villages and placed under a chief. Thus for instance the unit of Hunyapa was created by uniting the hamlets of Ekpansu and Po, and more curiously the five hamlets of Mboa, Edikan, Ndom, Ekobum and Mejom also recognized as Kamalumpé under the son of the successor to Manjipari's entertainer.

In Nkongwo, Fonjungo took the lead and the reduction of his four neighbours into dependents was conveniently recognized. In summary, the end of the struggle found both clans grouped into a number of villages under chiefs who to Fonjungo and Fonke were natural leaders

but elsewhere an alien institution; former grouping in both clans was broken up; and in Mangen, the chief and headman system was established which cut straight across the natural family organization.

Pre-German History

The common thread of opposition to the Germans once withdrawn the history of the clans loses connection, and whereas the Nkongwa keynote is resistance to Bangwa and Bamileke pressure – to the efforts of powerful neighbours to grab the palm valley, that of Mangen is settlement in comparatively new surroundings and the effect of Banyang and Bangwa contact upon internal organization. Arguing from present attendance it is improbable that the clans even attended each other's markets at Fonjungo and Dokwon.

The Pre-German Wars Of The Nkongwa Clan

Nkongwa, which in pre-German times meant Fonven and its dependents Fowung and Fonkennya, aided by the plateau emigrants Fonjungo and Fonke looked with jealousy on the rising power of Fontem and with immediate fear on the Bangwa clan of Foreke Tscha Tscha, their neighbours across the Fi River. It is therefore not surprising that the earliest of the three wars still remembered was waged against Fotabong III, a member of the Foreke clan. The story runs that at first Nkongwa stood neutral in the feud between Fotabong and Foreke Tscha Tscha, but that after Fotabong had wantonly shot a man of Fonven and refused reparation, Nkongwa joined with Foreke to expel him into the territory of Takwa the Bayang village on the Fontem marches. These events probably occurred between 1885 and 1890.

Not long after the present Chief of Fontem attacked Takwa, whom Fotabong the refugee had to support. Nkongwa were alarmed at Fontem's conquest of Takwa and assisted Fotabong to return to the part of the bush from whence he had been previously expelled (see sketch). More lucky than provident the Nkongwa policy has proved completely successful. Fotabong III the friend of Nkongwa, has given Foreke Tscha Tscha too much trouble over their boundary to leave possible an advance across the Fi, and Fontem's pre-occupations, at first with Mangen and later with the Germans, have prevented his

helping Foreke Tscha Tscha. Since the German occupation the attitude of Fotabong has been not less useful in anticipating peaceful penetration.

A second and later struggle in the childhood of the present Chief of Fonjungo (circ. 1898) arose between Nkongho and the Tainyi Kang group – the plain villages of Mangen. It arose from the seizure and sale of five men of Elanti by Elumba people. Elanti was an immigrant hamlet from the present French clan of Singam into Fonven territory. As the result of an ambush, the Mangen invaders were heavily defeated after they had burnt Elanti. The incident is notable in support of the unity of Mbo. The Mangen clan claims that Mankwe and Mama in French territory speak a dialect similar to their own. The Nkongwa are understood in Singam and Ntvem. The dialects of Nkongwa and Mangen resemble each other, and the two groups are at least linguistically connected (see Appendix 2). After the German occupation, Elanti, who was an offence to all his neighbours, was sent back to Singam.

Editors' Note:

According to Ayompe (1987), the Mbo Cluster speaks five different languages namely: Lekongho, Lefo, Bafun, Balong and Kitchui. These languages “are unidialectically subdivided into several dialects [and groups] as follows:

1. *Lekongho: Nkongwa (Nkongho)*
2. *Miennge: Bebum, Bassossi, Banyu, Onyu, Nguti.*
3. *Sambo: Melong, Sanzo, Kekem*
4. *Akosse: Bakossi, Elung, Ninnong, Mwambong, Bangem, Abongoe, Ngemgoe*
5. *Mineeh: Baneka, Bakaka, Manengouba, Mouamenam, Balondo, Babong”.*

Lost in the past, but perhaps the most important struggle of all, was the earlier fight between Singam and Nkongwa. The use of firearms by the former gave them at first a decisive advantage, and Nkongwa with whom was associated Fonjungo were driven north to Fonke. Fonke owned guns, and with his aid Nkongwa recovered their lost ground and defeated Singam. In return for his services Fonke became a member of the clan. Today [1923] Fonke numbers only 54

males, and it seems probable that Fongdonera was the real ally, and that he recompensed himself by planting a dependent at the gate of the valley. On this theory the provisional Anglo-French boundary has frustrated more than a generation's patient perseverance by Fongdonera.

Editors' Note:

The banning of colonial subjects from owning guns and other instruments of force was a favoured colonial tactic that contributed greatly to neutralizing resistance to the colonial project.

The Pre-German Wars Of The Mangen Clan.

As drawn by the elders of the different hamlet and village councils the picture of the lowland group of the Mangen clan at the time of descent from its Mbokambo home is that of numerous households loosely connected under the head of the family whom they had followed down the escarpment, but with whom their relations were very elastic. Their ideal life aimed at farming and palm oil working in the dry season and individual head hunting in the rains. Cannibals, as they freely admit, they infested the forest on the outskirts of Banyang northwards and eastwards, and harassed outlying farms and hamlets until they provoked retaliation in mass by their more advanced opponents.

Editors' Note:

An abstract assertion, that negates the true nature and complexities of things and conduct; it fails to see the similarity-dissimilarity continuum by which all things are similar and dissimilar, with circumstance. From the author's perspective, the reference to 'their more advanced opponents' sounds like a kind of "two truths theory" if consideration is given to the liberal aspersions of 'witchcraft' and 'primitive', inter alia spread throughout this report - the victim of the big, broad brush. Rutherford falls back on this label a number of instances in his Report. On the other hand, these apple-to-orange comparisons were meant to serve no more than as [unspoken] justifications for a 'mission civilisatrice.' It is something of a comic relief to observe a kind of metamorphosis within the last quarter-century evidenced

by these 'back-to-basic' [3Rs] movements of assorted stripes taking root in 'developed' societies that did not, at any time in their historical evolution, foresee themselves going down this route reserved only for primitives. For an indepth exploration of this phenomenon, See Alvin Toffler's The Third Wave, Bantam Books, N.Y., 1980.

Nssoa was the first to learn a lesson. The Maibi family under their head Mfambaw had settled on the Banyang border well down the Osu River, while the Metumbu family under Nzekwa were close to the Banyang Bala near the junction of the Mfu River with the Osu River. A Banyang concentration of Tinto, Defang, and Fotabe destroyed these hamlets and drove the inhabitants to live with the Mengopa family near the present site of Nssoa.

In exactly the same way one of the families of the Mangen group near the present Etawang provoked Bangwa hostility by their inveterate habit of murder and robbery. Threatening danger drew all the families together and individual prowess led to the primacy for defence of Elumpe-Nabo family head of Mempaw, and then of his successor Tainyi Kang.

A raid to the north upon Takwa drew Fontem to assist his Banyang dependent. In two encounters, the first of which is reported to have lasted seven days, the Mangen were driven from the Balu stream to the Osu River, and Tainyi Kang's compound burnt. Fontem granted peace conditionally upon the households north of Osu coming under his rule and upon the usual payment of ivory. Tatoo marks on Fontem's arm still recall the treaty, and it was not till the German advance upon Fontem that Tainyi Kang withdrew his people behind the Osu and resumed full independence. After this defeat, Tainyi Kang adopted the Bangwa juju Tru which occurs in no other Mangen settlement. The years 1885-1890 approximately date the Takwa War. In this encounter Fotabong III then a refugee in the Takwa bush sided with Mangen, and in result had to return to his home between Nkongwa and Foreke.

Encouraged by Tainyi Kang's reverse the Banyangs determined to fulfill the task begun at Nssoa and to end the nuisance of continual kidnapping. Their Bala hamlet on the Amo River was specially affected, and invited the Banyangs of Defang, Tinto and Fotabe to prevent its extermination. An indecisive encounter took place by the

side of the Amo, but whereas the Banyangs dispersed to their villages Mangen returned to destroy Bala, the inhabitants of which fled to Tali and have there remained. Of the two narrators of this incident, one had assisted to cook the head of the other's father whose valour was in the opinion of both proportioned to its exceeding toughness (1890-1896).

Editor's Note:

Anthony Smith (1980) makes this observation, which helps to cast assertions such as Rutherford's above into proper perspective: reporting is exploration carried on by other means.

The Bangwa and Banyang struggles were vital and either created or confirmed in the family communities of the Plain a sense of interdependence. The struggle with Nkongwa which barely preceded the German Conquest and has already been mentioned (paragraph 33) more nearly resembled the private war natural to a disorganized community. The quarrel with Elanti concerned only the Ekusu hamlet of Elumba, but on the usual plan the prospect of a fight was drummed through the clan and any youth inclined went down to take his part. In this as on other occasions the Mangen mountaineers supplied much individual but no collective aid. Organized help they were prepared to lend only to Mbokambo in the east where the pressure from Ntjem and the other colingual but not related Mbo clans distracted attention from the struggles in the Plain.

Such were the Mangen Wars. They were provoked by irresponsible lawlessness but they ended by so uniting the families between the Osu and Nghe Rivers that they would rally to each other's help and had learnt to recognize in Tainyi Kang a leader to whom other heads, such as Mbusebi of Esanke (Elumba), Nfambaw of Mbanku (Nssoa), Ehulimpi of Sandong (Tanga), were content to give precedence.

Editors' Note:

The struggle for influence, a constant throughout human history, has not spared any section of that human community. This struggle has always taken various forms – acquisition of territory, vassals, slave/labour, resources, etc. As well, this struggle, never pretty, has in each instance, never met with generalized success across the board. Not even the European intertribal wars over conquest carried out across the globe presented any picture other than this generalized lawlessness. Not even the tag of 'World Wars' (WW's) can hide that fact.

Origin Of The Nkongwa Clan And Leading Families.

(a) Fonven Element.

The Nkongwa legend narrates: 'Nkongwa our father owned all the land on which his descendants sit. On his death bed, he called his sons and divided a goat. To Fonwen, he gave the left haunch, to Fomilong the right, to Fotabong (not Fotabong III) the left hand, to Fowung the right and to Fonkennya the neck. Fowung divided his share with Fonjokarebong who in turn subdivided it with Fossoh. Fonkennya got the neck as the most remote.

If we have any matter of common concern we must meet at the Stone of Suke in the compound of Fonwa, the hereditary keeper, and our agreement we ratify by the spilling of water and the sacrifice of a goat.



Photo 2.2: Photographs of the Four Stones at Suke, Lebock Nkongbo-Mbo, 1994.

Editors' Note:

These are the Four Stones at Suke where the Four Ancestors are buried and where all matters, queries, concerns were settled and sacrifices performed. The narrative above and the paragraph below, both mentioned Five individuals, not Four [amongst whom the goat was divided and who constituted the original Nkongho-Clans]. We believe Rutherford is mistaken on the number of the Clan Head. The fifth person could have been the keeper who is not entitled to a Stone but who was compensated as keeper of the Shrine. Our forefathers have been deserted for a long time, partially out of political and regional reasons. Also, the number of Paramount Chiefs has jumped from four to ten. The new Chiefs believe that they are not represented or are not part of the Four Stones. So they completely downplay the powers of our Ancestors as they continue to ignore this Secret Shrine, an important aspect of Nkongho-Mbo history.

The Original Nkongwa Elements

The original hamlets comprising the clan were therefore Fonwen, Fomilong, Fotabong, Fowung (including Fosse and Fonjokarebong) and Fonkennya. Today (1922) the second and third are called sub-chiefs of Fonwen, and Fonkennya follows Fonjungo the head of Fonjokarebong and Fosse. According to the legend the last two would seem to be Fowung offshoots. The artificial nature of the latter connection with Fonjungo is freely admitted. At the clan meeting all seems to have equal standing, and meetings are attended by Fonjungo, Folepe (Bangwa) and Fonke, who take no part in the ceremonial. The conclusion is irresistible that these last represent later intrusions into the valley swallowed by the clan and cloaked with an artificial relationship.

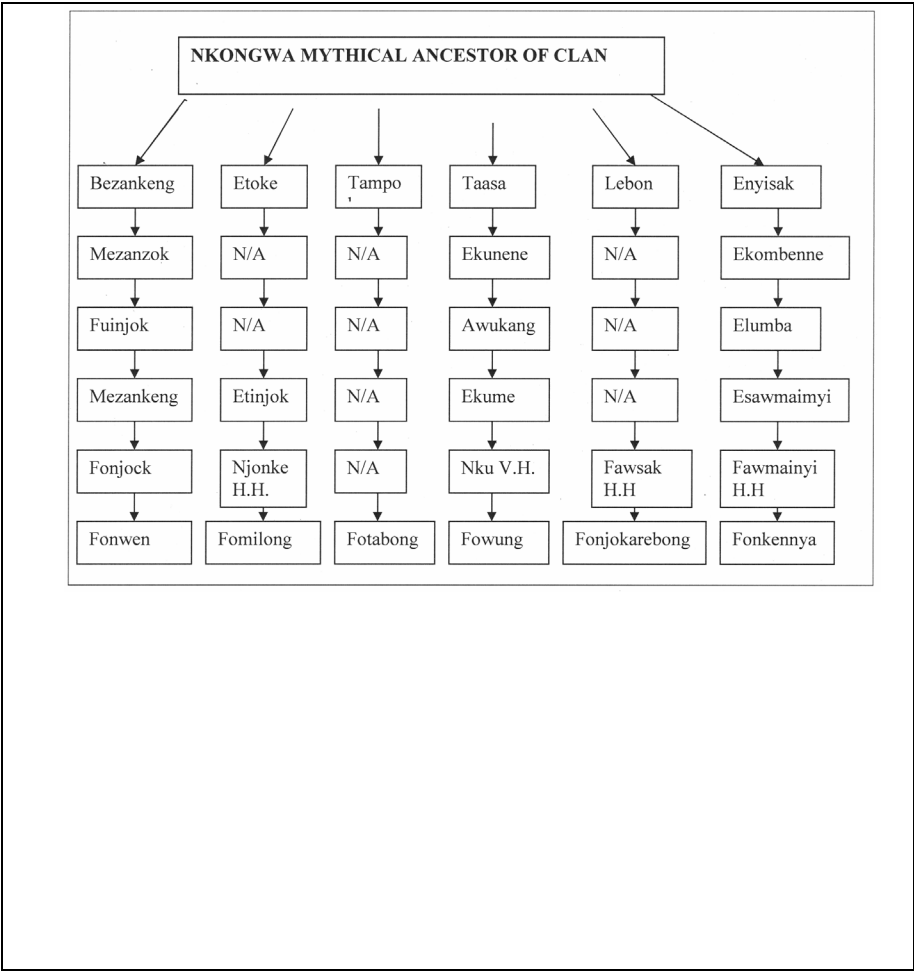


Fig. 2.1: The Nkongwa Mythical Ancestor of Clan

Editors' note:

Internal rebellions and entry into strategic [distant and not-too-distant] alliances, among other factors, have today [2015] resulted in the emergence and crystallization of Nkongholand into 10 chiefdoms. See Glossary.

The genealogical tree of the clan is much less reliable than the neat pedigrees of Bangwa. But its very existence is significant for, among the Mangan, no trees are possible and they cannot be relied upon to state accurately their own grandfathers. Not ignorance but the mode of succession is accountable; for in this patriarchal society working through agnates the direct succession of the son is unlikely and the brother generally follows. The value of the Nkongwa genealogy given below lies rather in the relationship evidenced between the hamlets than in its individual accuracy.

The Nkongwa genealogy amounts to the recognition of a common ancestor and of an order of precedence. Fonwen is the head of the clan and the other hamlets follow him in the order given. The position of Fosse is uncertain and no more exact information was obtainable than that the hamlet was the next most junior to Fonkennya. Mr. Cadman's remark that an uncertain genealogy connotes a weak authority is excellently approved. No one of the so-called hamlet heads has the position of a Bangwa sub-chief. Their orders are nothing unless and until they have been canvassed in the hamlet council.



Photo 2.3: His Royal Majesty (H.R.M.) Chief Fonven of Lekweh (left) and the Royal nteg- mbia (right). *He was enthroned in 1994. He is one of the most dynamic Paramount Chiefs of the Nkongho-Mbo Land. Photo: 1994.*

Today (1922) Fomilong and Fotabong are introduced by Fonwen as his hamlet heads, but the table of relationship shows them as independent hamlets or at least as autonomous as Fowung. There are various and unmistakable signs of a mixed culture or confusion in the social order, whichever be the apter term, quite apart from the startling admission that Ngantchi, the present chief of Fonwen, is not a descendant from Bezankeng. The chief's ancestor is Tainyi Maka, a wealthy follower of Bezankeng whose descendant Tanjok is leading adviser to Ngantchi, the chief. Tanjok repudiates any claim to the chieftaincy which all the elders assert is held by Ngantchi. At Fonwen therefore the chief is not the senior descendant of the eponymous ancestor.

Editor's Note:

He is now the oldest Chief still alive in the Nkongho-Mbo land (September, 2015).



Photo 2.4: His Royal Majesty (H.R.M) Chief Fomilong of Mbetta. Picture was taken on February 24, 1994.

The Chief of Fowung states that he is descended from Nkongwa but can only trace his ascent for four generations and that with difficulty. He exercises the same degree of authority as Fonwen. Fosse is a virtually extinct hamlet with a population of ninety-seven, forming part of Fonjungo, whose position in the clan neither he nor others can define more accurately than that he is last but one. Fonjokarebong and Fonkennya know their respective seniority and the ancestor whom Nkongwa instructed to settle on their present ground, but that is all.



Photo 2.5: In the middle is the former His Royal Majesty (H.R.M), Fogu-Kang (who travelled) of Fowung aka Lebock with his Mafaw and two of his Sub-chiefs: Fonkengmanzock (left) of Suke and Fonsah-Egu (right) of Nshimbeng. Not in the picture are Fonjisang of Ngiesang and Fotobmanchi of Njendun. The former H.R.M. was officially enthroned in 1979 (Picture taken in 1994). According to Mbo culture, the chief never dies.

The original home of the eponymous ancestor was on ground now belonging to Fowung where the stone of Suke the clan meeting place is. One Fonwa is its hereditary guardian and the stone is said to mark the burial place of Nkongwa's head – an obvious embroidery due to the recent (1922) adoption of the Bangwa “head preserving” custom. The clan has no tradition of migration or of relationship with other clans, and it is significant that Mangen assert that Nkongwa stood where they stand when Mangen descended to the plain. The valley of the Fi they claim was their original home.



Photo 2.6: These are the Four Stones at Suke where the Nkongwa ancestor's head is buried and where all matters of concern are settled and sacrifices take place. In blue is Chief Nfonkengmanzok of Suke, surrounded by some of his constituents (1994).

The conclusion is that the Nkongwa represent a transition stage between the clan on a family basis overlooked by the family heads, and the clan under a chief with an advisory council such as exists among the Bangwa and Bamileke. The Fonjungo, Fonke and Folepe elements have come from Bamileke and Bangwa and to them a chief is natural. The pure Nkongwa element knew no chief in this sense, but have tentatively adopted the institution. The clan at present contains two conflicting elements of different origin, the indigenous Nkongwa and the immigrant Bangwa-Bamileke, and as will appear below (see under Village Organization) the resulting product is only in formation. For practical purposes the Nkongwa can be defined as an artificial clan composed of five indigenous and three alien hamlets acting together.

Fonjungo and Fonke Elements

The Village Of Fonjungo

The village of Fonjungo with its hamlets of Folepe, Fonkennya, Fonjokarebong and Fosse was the first assessed and the assessment officer fresh from Bangwa was alive to the possibility of a similar

culture. Fonjungo at first claimed to be the head of the Nkongwa but his tree which went back three generations and included neither chiefs of the villages under him nor other Nkongwas, aroused suspicion. In fact its only interest lay in the connexion it established between the chief and his hereditary advisers the Esaa – a true Bangwa characteristic.

Fig. 2.2: Ancestry Of Mboina Village: Head of Fonjungo

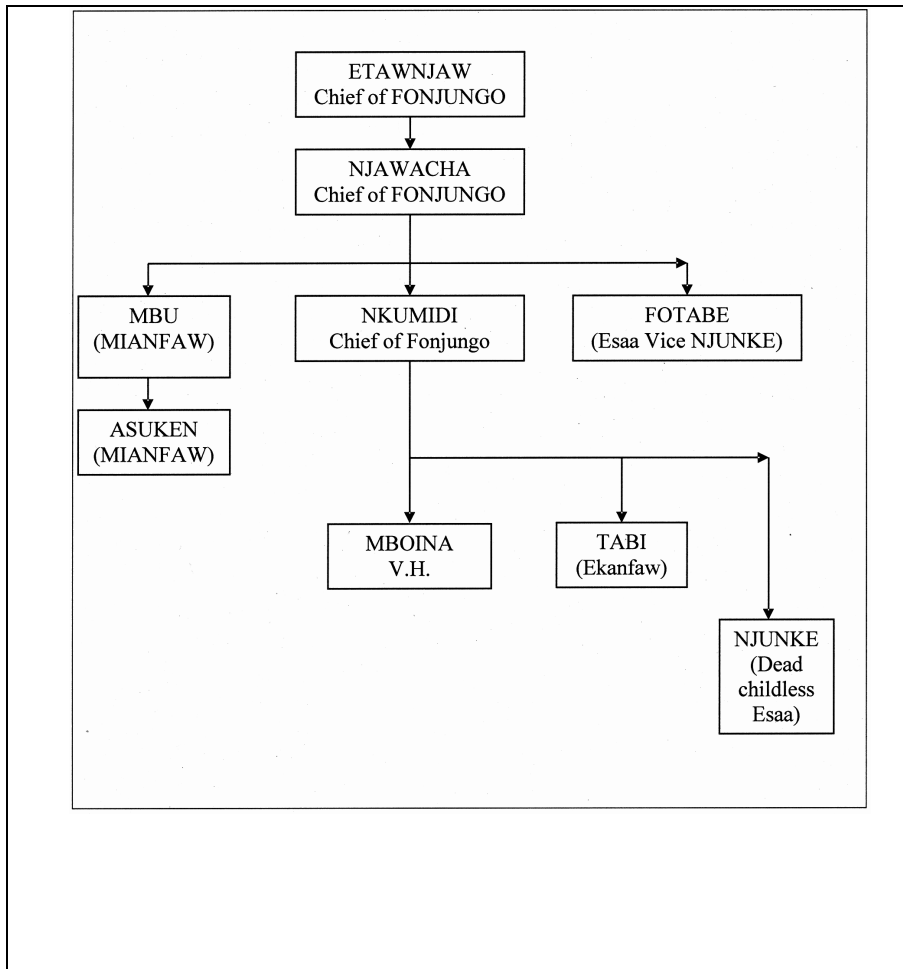




Photo. 2.7: The former His Royal Majesty (H.R.M) Fonzoeksack (Tobias Fonjungu) of Njungu being honoured by a senior Government Officer. A dynamic and successful businessman, he also served as Member of Parliament in Cameroon. He 'travelled' in 2003.

The Chief of Fowung later stated that Fonjungu and Fonke had entered the valley to find the Nkongwa fully established and from Fonjungu's own admission that he pays oil yearly to Fongdonera and the fact that Fongdonera arranged for the joint control by Fonjungu and Fowung of the Sikamanja market it is deducible that he originated in that clan. Manga of Nssoa, a clear headed native, asserted that Fonjungu was maternally connected with Fongdonera. The dialect spoken is Nkongwa. Tradition ascribes continuous peaceful relations between Fonjungu and the Fonwen or pure Nkongwa element. The population of Fonjungu is 681 as compared with Fonwen 1027, Fowung 391 and Fonke 200 (1922 figures).

On Fonjungu's arrival in the valley the Sikamanja market was exclusively controlled by Fowung, but thereafter it became a joint charge. The cause and terms of the arrangement are not remembered except the interference of Fongdonera but it is easy to see that Fonjungu represents a Bamileke intrusion from the treeless plateau which acquired at once a share of the coveted palm belt and a firm footing in the traditional market previously controlled in the sole interests of the producer.

Once planted Fonjungo's better organization extended his influence and the arrival of the Germans but raised him to a position which he would doubtless have gained in any event. His intercession after hostilities on behalf of Fowung, Folepe and Fonkennya led to those hamlets voluntarily submitting to him. Fonjokarebong and Fosse, which are parts of Fonjungo's quarter, he would seem to have already absorbed, most probably at his first appearance. The German era was Fonjungo's high water mark. Bangwa pressure from the north and the particular menace of Foreke Tscha Tscha made Folepe and perhaps Fonkennya content with their subordination and in the west Fongdonera impressed Fowung and Fonjokarebong. The lapse of time has brought with it belief in universal peace, and the English occupation substituted an administration without a Fonjungo bias. Fowung first of all appreciated the change and by representation at Chang established his independence. Signs are not wanting that Fonkennya and Folepe are beginning to reconsider their position.

Folepe is a member of the Bangwa clan of Foreke Tscha Tscha tracing his descent from Njingu the common ancestor of Foreke Tscha Tscha, Fotabong III, Fomila and Folepe. His account of his separation is that Njingu on his death bed instructed his sons – the four hamlet heads – to set up independently. The independence of Fotabong III and the imprisonment of Fomila for refusing to acknowledge the overlordship of Foreke Tscha Tscha showed that for whatever reason there is no sentiment of loyalty uniting that clan. Mokokon, the present hamlet head of Folepe, has recently returned from Fontem, under the chief of which he has spent his minority at his father's request. Fontem's influence would tend to reconciliation with Foreke Tscha Tscha at the expense of Fonjungo and the Nkongwa clan.

The following tree shows the position of Folepe in the Foreke Tscha Tscha Clan:

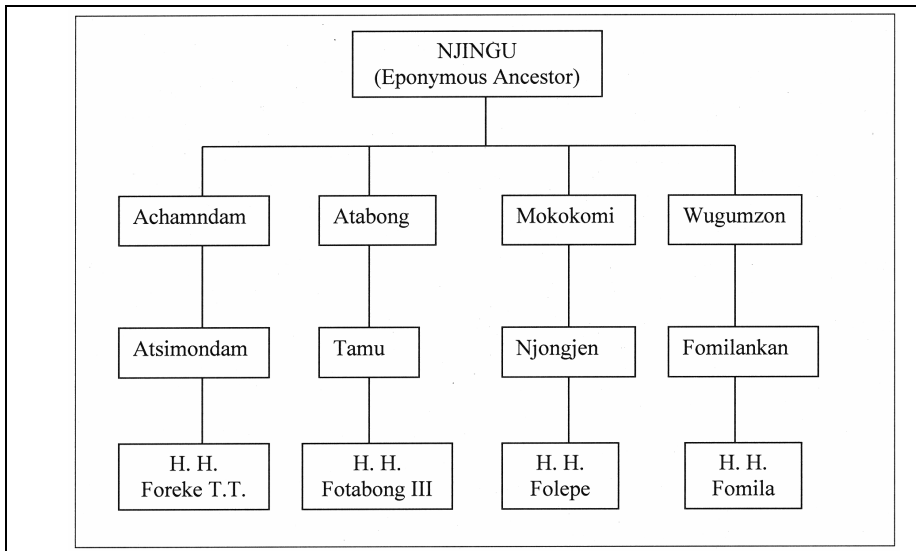


Fig. 2.3 The Njingu Eponymous Ancestor

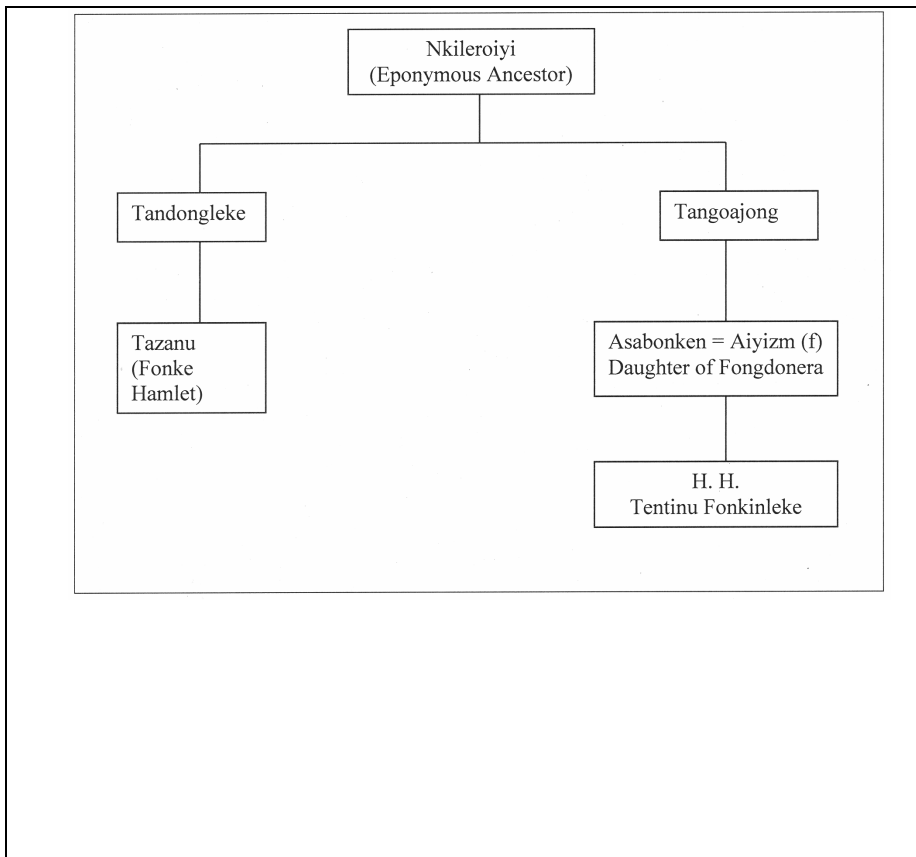
During assessment Ekawbe who acted for Njongjen during his minority protested that his expenses had not been re-imbursed while Njongjen counter claimed for certain of his insignia detained by Ekawbe. A committee headed by Fonjungo and Fonke adjusted the quarrel and the debts due were discharged before the District Officer.

Fonkennya, a large Nkongwa hamlet of 138 souls, lies furthest from Fonwen (the Nkongwa center) and on the Foreke Tscha Tscha border. It came under Fonjungo in return for the the latter's intercession with the Germans after their occupation of Fonkennya in 1904. The present hamlet head is sufficiently under Bangwa influence to keep a council house and the heads of his father, grandfather and great grandfather in the Bangwa fashion.

The Village Of Fonke

The village of Fonke numbers 124 and the hamlet of Fonkinleke 76 persons. It is situated round the head waters of the Fi River and its history until this year (1922) has been the assertion of its independence of Fongdonera. The chief represented the connection genealogically.

Fig. 2.4: Nkileroyi Eponymous Ancestor



Fonke claims entire absence of relationship to Fongdonera but admits that the present hamlet head of Fonkinleke is Fongdonera's nephew. Fonke would also appear at one time to have lived on the crest of the plateau and not as a present 1000 feet below in the Fi valley. Before the German era a pot of palm oil was given yearly to Fongdonera by Fonkinleke in recognition of the marriage connexion; and it is admitted that he twice paid tax to the German through Fongdonera and that until 1920 tax was always so paid to the British. After the partition of Chang, Fongdonera fell to the French and endeavoured to take Fonkinleke with him. In 1921, however, a meeting of the local political officers ruled Fonkinleke to be on the British side of the boundary, a decision that must have brought home to Fongdonera the final disappointment of his designs on the valley.

Mangen

The Mangen clan claims to have sprung from an eponymous ancestor Ngen who lived on Mount Koa in Mbokambo. Ngen had seven sons who were the founders of the families now scattered through the eight village areas of Etawang, Elumba, Nssoa, Tanga, Kamalumpe, Hunyapa, Fotabong Koa and Mbokambo (French), and of those existing among the Basossi in the Kumba Division (Kupe Muanengouba Division [2013]), at Nguti on the Mamfe-Kumba Boundary, at Nyandong in Bakossi, and at Baduma, Kombone and Kurume in Bafo. The families vary in importance in different village areas, but it is generally agreed that that of Meku is the senior. Its head is the representative of the original ancestor and is recognized as the head of the clan, though that position would seem since the migration to imply reverence rather than authority.

Editor's Note:

By Baduma, we believe Rutherford was probably referring to Laduma. The prefix "Ba" signifies "people of".

A mythical narrative of the migration was not forthcoming, but the sons of Ngen are supposed to have moved from Mount Koa to Nduko, and from Nduko to have scattered to their present habirtats. Each village is inclined to claim priority of settlement, but on the evidence the sub-family of Maseng would appear to have led the way from Nduko to Po, Mekeng to have followed to Po and Ekpansu, the Mekwon to have gone to Edikan and then the lowland families to have begun their descent. Of the lowland group, Mengurim and Meku settled contemporaneously at Etoji (Elumba) and Tanga, to be succeeded by Meku, Mempaw and Nkaw at Etawang, by Mengopa at Ekusu (Elumba), and by Meku at Esanke (Elumba). The families at Nssoa would appear a later influx.

Table 2.1 sets out the position, and it is significant that five, out of seven, of the principal representatives of the families are in Mbokambo.

Equally noticeable is the relation of descent and seniority. The principal representative is the eldest survivor but the eldest son of the

late family head is known and is always pronounced the successor of the present head.

Table 2.2 shows the distribution of the families and their relative importance. The family of Nkaw is the one alien element in the Mangen clan, which is already stated contrasts with Nkongwa as a more primitive stage of clan development. The village areas are necessary to clear statement, but sometimes as in the case of the hill hamlets of Kamalumpe they mean very little. The inhabitant of Mboa hamlet primarily regards himself as a member of the family of Meku or Mebong, and may for tax purposes call himself a man of Mboa, but has little regard for the village head of Kamalumpe who at his visit with District Officer to Mboa was plainly ill at ease and his representative the official chief equally plainly the European's agents. Similarly, though in a less degree, at Ekpansu and Po hamlets of Hunyapa hamlet consciousness was the highest conception of the ordinary individual. The families have too recently come down from Nduko for more advanced ideas to have become instinctive. The settlement of the area between the Nghe and Oku Rivers was by this test a later migration than those of Bassossi, to the three Bafo villages and Nyandong (Bakossi) in the Kumba Division, and to Nguti on the boundary of the Mamfe and Kumba Divisions.

Table 2.1: Mangen Clan Families and Their Living Principal Representatives: Sons of Mangen and Founders of Families

Sons of Mangen and founders of families		Meku		Mebong	Mempaw	Meton 1/		Mengopa		Mengurim	Metumbu
Sub-families	Mempongu	Metubieng	Mekanzehu				Mekampu	Maseng	Mekwom		
		Mekeng		Memponke							Mailbi
Senior representatives of families	Ehukampo of Nsemeng-Mbokambo (French Meku)	Elanti of Tanga (Mebong)	Ebole-Nampo of Etawang-Nduko (French Mempaw)				Emadua of Eka-Mbokambo (French Meton)		Ewungi Tumpong of Nduko (French Mekampu)	Esingzaw-Elumpe of Eka-Mbokambo (French Mengurim)	Elang-Kompu at Etawang-Nduko (French Metumbu)
Principal representatives in English Mangen	Ewulimpi 2/ of Tanga (Meku)	Elanti of Tanga (Mebong)	Tandek 3/ of Etawang (Mempaw)				Esumumpu of Elumba		Esapa of Elumba (Mekampu)	Nkwamepaw of Elumba (Mengurim)	Esumubonke of Tanga (Metumbu)

1/- Has been called an offshoot of Mengopa but not authoritatively.

2/- Principal representative of Ngen in English Mangen.

3/- Head of lowland or Tainyi Kang group.

Table 2.2: The Distribution and Relative Importance of Families in the Mangan Clan, Present Representatives and Order of Precedence Shown in Roman Numerals: Village and Hamlet Areas

No.	Families	Etswang	Elumba	Tanga	Nisso	Kamalumpe Mejom & Elobum	Edikan	Mboa	Po	Ekansu	Fotabong Koa	Kamalumpe	# Hamlets (a) rank as 1 st and (b) as 2 nd family	
													(a)	(b)
1	Mempaw	Tandek	Mpomela	Esangwasohi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
2	Mengopa		II Ngwainaw	Abunsu					Etabungwadia				1	3
3	Mengurim		II Ntumbobong	Ebolekumpi									1	2
4	Membongu 1/	TA	Nkwamepaw	Hulumpe									-	1
5	Malbi		Esomba	I Akaw									1	2
6	Meku	Fotabong	Mbusebi	II Ewulumpi	II Esongwanombi			II Duensaw	Sakuvu		Isungungwam		3	7
7	Mebong		Ngenawike	I Elanti		Ekuhe		I Ebolewongi					2	4
8	Nkaw	II Defang	Unknown										1	1
9	Mekong 1/		Etamengu	Esangwala					II Asuandaw	II Ngunu	I Enawbi		3	5
10	Meton		Esumu	Epunku		II Mbi for Ehwonke	Ngosubu		Asuampe	I Ajandim	Isobole		3	7
11	Metumbu			Esumubonke	Mbare								-	2
12	Mekambu 2/		Espa										-	1
13	Mekanzehu 1/			Epaze		I Ehunkong							1	2
14	Metublieng 1/					II Nkawme						I Elataw	2	2
15	Mekwom 2/						II Ebiana						1	1
16	Maseng 2/								I Ngwamadia		II Ilandaw		1	2
17	Memponke										Ewanzu		-	1

1/- Sub-families of No. 6 which is therefore the principal or 2nd family in 9 ex 11 hamlets (the principal in 3, the 2nd in 6) and occurs in 9.

2/- Sub-families of No. 2 which is therefore the principal or 2nd family in 4 ex 11 hamlets (the principal in 1, the 2nd in 3) and occurs in 5.

Table 2.3: Number of Farmers and the Distribution of Crops in Nkongwa and Mangen Areas.

Clan	No.	Village	Staple Crops	Luxury crops	Economic crops	No. Of Farmers
Nkongwa	1	Fonjungo	Plantains, cocos (taro), makabo, maize	Ground nuts, sweet potatoes, cassava (a little), few yams.	None	58
	2	Fonke	Cocos (taro), plantains	Maize, groundnuts, cassava (a little), few yams)	None	4
	3	Fowung	Cocos (taro), makabo, plantains	Maize, groundnuts, beans cassava, yams	Cocoa (very little)	12
	4	Fonwen	Plantains, cocos (taro)	Maize, groundnuts, cassava yams, sweet potatoes	None	72
		Total Nkongwa	(146 ex 597 males)			146
Mangen	5	Etawang	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Groundnuts, beans, ngondo, sweet potatoes, the smaller yam, cassava	None	2
	6	Nsoa	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Groundnuts, beans, ngondo, sweet potatoes, yams (a few of both species), cassava	None	3
	7	Tanga	Plantains, cocos (taro)	Maize, beans, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, ngondo and a few yams, cassava	Cocoa (very little)	14
	8	Elumba	Plantains, cocos (taro)	Maize, beans, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, ngondo and a few yams, cassava	None	5
	9	Kamalumpe	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Beans, ngondo, cassava	Cocoa (very little)	3
	10	Fotabong Koa	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Beans, cassava	None	7
	11	Hunyapa	Plantains	Cocoyams, maize, beans, cassava	Tobacco (very little)	8
		Total Mangen	(42 ex 1067 males)			42
		Total Nkongwa and Mangen	(188 ex 1664 males)			188

Mangen Villages

Points Of Historical Interest In Connection With Mangen Village Areas.

Etawang

The families represented are Mempaw, Nkaw, Meku and Membongu in that order of importance. The village head is TandeK, the official chief Asua, and the village council as named below.

Table 3.1: The Mempaw, Nkaw, Meku and Membongu Families

Name	Rank	Family	Remarks
1. TandeK	V. H. & F.H.	Mempaw	Nos.1, 2, 4, 5 represents the original element. They are elders and veterans of the Banyang and Bangwa Wars.
2. Fotabong	F.H.	Meku	
3. Defang	F. H.	Nkaw	Nos. 3, 6, 7 are the younger element necessary to interpret European ideas. They are junior but their opinions carry weight.
4. Mbuayang		Meku	
5. Esumusaw		Meku	
6. Asua	Official chief, V.H. expectant	Mempaw	No. 6 is the only authority recognized by the Germans. In practice, he refers everything to the Council under No. 1.
7. Ebaku	Headman	Nkaw	

Editors' note:

V.H = Village Head; F.H. = Family Head

The last three village heads, of which the first two exercised great influence among all lowland Mangen, have been:

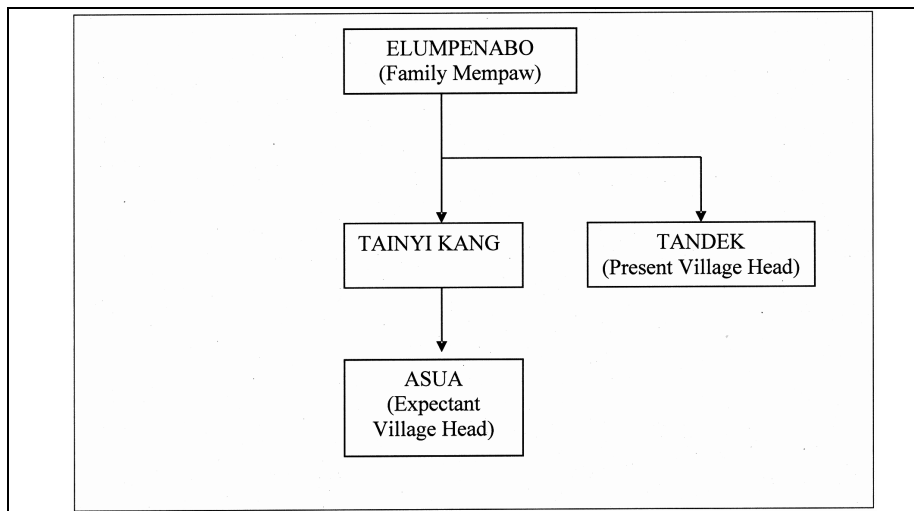


Fig. 3.1: The Village Head of Lowland Mangen

The local legend of the migration is that one Taba of the Mempaw family left Nduko in consequence of having killed a Bakossi man and settled on the Osu Rivier at Etawang. This position was exposed to attacks from Banyang and Bangwa and the succession tofome another of two capable leaders, joined to the pressure of Banyang down the length of the Osu River vested first in Elumpenabo and next in Tainyi Kang the headship of the lowlanders of Mangen throughout Etawang, Nssoa, Elumba, and Tanga.

Taba is narrated to have assigned land to the Mengurim family which first settled at Elumba and given to their leader as an emblem of his protection the Pesua or broom which distinguishes the head of the principal family. Nssoa are also claimed to have settled with the prior consent of Elumpenabo.

The course of the Bangwa and Banyang struggles and the attitude of Tainyi Kang towards the Germans have been previously narrated (paragraphs 2.35-2.40). Tainyi Kang was for some time after the 1904 rising, a prisoner at Fontem.

Elumba

The families represented are Meku, Mengurim, Mengopa, and Mebong and the Meku, Mengurim and Mengopa rank first in importance, Mbusebi yje village head belongs to the Meku family and is stated by outsiders to be second only to Ewulimpi of Tanga among all the English Mekus. Mekeng, a sub-family of Meku, is also present. The village head is Mbusebi; the official chief Ewungi - an ex-shop boy from Duala -, and the village Council is as follows:

Table 3.2: The Elumba Village Family Representatives

Name	Rank	Hamlet	Family	Remarks
1. Mbusebi	V. H.& F. H.	Esanke	Meku	Keeps back but is the village leader
2. Ntumbobong	Elder	Dunkube	Mengurim	The vigorous representative of the feeble No. 4.
3. Mpomela	F.H. & Joint H.H	Ekusu	Mempaw	Esapa of Mengopa is joint H. H. of Ekusu.
4. Nkwamepaw	H.H. & F.H.	Dunkube	Mengurim	
5. Ngwoinawbi	F.H.	Ekusu	Mengopa	Ex-German interpreter. Is feared but does not rank higher than fifth.
6. Ewungi	Official Chief	Dunkube	Mengurim	Appointed by Germans. Son of first official Chief.
7. Etamengu	F.H & H.H.	Etoji	Mekeng	

Editors' Note:

H.H. = Hamlet Head; F.H. = Family Head; V.H. = Village Head

The order of migration from Nduko has been stated in paragraph 2.57. Both Etawang and Elumba representatives protested that there was no boundary between their villages, but the spur north-east of Dunkube and ending at the Osu River is the practical limit.

Until the German era, the four hamlets of Etoji, Esanke, Ekusu and Dunkube had little in common, though they united in war under Tainyi Kang of Etawang. The Germans would appear to have recognized Elumbawonga as an official chief of the area to which he gave his name, but he was at first subordinate to Tainyi Kang. After

the revolt of 1904, Elumbawonga was deposed in favour of his brother Nkwumpi and Elumba's connection with Etawang severed. Nkwumpi was eventually hanged for supporting the English to whom Ewungi, the present official chief (1922) and son of Elumbawonga, presented himself as head of the village. The office of chief though alien to their ideas was generally welcomed by the Mbo as providing a two way buffer to the directness of the European and the cautious delays of the hamlets or village councils.

Elumba (557 inhabitants) is the biggest of the Mangel villages and the situation of the Dokwen market at Esanke to which all Mangel, except Ekpansu (Hunyapa) and Mboa (Kamalumpe) resort, makes it the most important center. Up to 1914 the Roman Catholic Mission maintained a school at Elumba and a factory at Nkongsamba (was stated to have been Messrs John Holt and Company) kept a commission agent at this village.

Nssoa

The families represented are Maibi, Meku, Mengopa, Mekeng, Membongu, Metumbu and Mekanzehu. The village head at the date of assessment was Ehulimpe of Membongu whose death during February 1923 left Abunsu of Mengopa, his successor. The official chief is [was] Manga of Metumbu, a former headman of plantation labourers. Manga was present at the Osu River fight with the Germans and was afterwards chosen as head of the gang of plantation labourers demanded in the peace terms. After a few years on the plantation he returned home and was appointed chief. The village council consists of:

Table 3.3: The Nssoa Family Representatives

Name	Rank	Family	Remarks
1. Akaw	F.H.	Maibi	Head of Nssoa Quarter and of Mfaka section expelled by Banyang from the banks of Osu River
2. Mbare	F.H.	Metumbu	
3. Abunsu	V.H. & F.H.	Mengopa	Head of Mbanku Quarter. Successor to Ehulimpe and Head of Village as descendant of Nombuliepe, the patron of Nzekwa and Nfambaw (Nos. 7 and 1).

4. Epaze	F.H.	Mekanzehu	
5. Isangwanombi	F.H.	Meku	
6. Isangwela	F.H.	Mekeng	
7. Manga	Official Chief	Metumbu	Head of Nzekwa section who was expelled by Bala-Banyang.

The early history of Nssoa and its effect in drawing together the lowland families of Mangel has been narrated (paragraph 2.36). The claim of Tandek (Village Head Etawang) that their land was originally assigned to them by Tainyi Kang was hotly disputed, and a boundary dispute between the two villages was trumped up probably in consequence of this assertion and a claim subsequently relinquished that the hamlet of Mbinjong belonged to Nssoa. Nssoa is at present grouped in two quarters, Nssoa and Mbanku, of which the latter is inhabited by the original settlers on the present site (1922).

Tanga

The families represented are Meku, Mebong, Meton, Mempaw, Mengurim, Metompu and Maibi; the Village Head is Ehulimpe of Meku – the eldest representative throughout English Mangel of the leading family in the clan (Meku), the official chief is Ewumia, and the Village Council is:

Table 3.4: The Tanga Family Representatives

Name	Rank	Family	Remarks
1. Ehulimpe	V.H, H. H. and F. H.	Meku	Head of Sandong Hamlet
2. Elanti	F. H.	Mebong	Head of Nkongesa, Nkongesa-Mayuka, and Enawnsi Quarters.
3. Epanku	F. H. and H. H.	Metong	Head of Nkasodang Hamlet
4. Esangwasobi	F. H.	Mempaw	Head of Baku Quarter
5. Ebolekumpi	F. H.	Mengurim	The third senior representative of Mengurim in British Mangel.

6. Esumubonke	F. H. & co-H. H.	Metombu	The representative of one Akpenni and as such senior representative fo Metombu in British Mangel.
7. Esomba	F. H. & co-H.	Maibi	With No. 6, co-Head of Beka Hamlet
8. Kale		Mebong	
9. Ewonso		Mebong	
10. Esumu		Mebong	
11. Ndo		Mebong	
12. Ewumia	Official Chief	Meku	Son of Ewelle, first Village Head, and destined successor of No. 1.

These families migrated from Nduko in Mbokambo where Ekukampo is still recognized as the head of all Meku (1922). The original founder of the Meku settlement was one Ko and other family heads settled as occasion offered. Tradition avers that Ko was the second of all Kabo to settle in their present habitat.

The village consists of seven quarters, one of which is split into two, and of four hamlets, of which Sandong-Fotabe is situated two and half hours west of the Fontem-Kamalumpe road and near the Banyang boundary, Beka two hours south of Tanga and ten minutes from Mejom-Kamalumpe, and the other two artificial German creations along the line of the Fontem road. Elanti, head of three out of seven quarters, is the main influence in the village.

The late Village Head and official Chief Ewelle was one of the four outstanding figures in the lowland section of the clan at the time of the conquest. The others were Tainyi Kang (of the present Etawang), Nfambaw (of the present Nssoa), and Otem (of the present Kamalumpe). Tainyi Kang's position has been stated; that of the others was a primacy among the family heads of their village area. At a guess the village area comprised such family sections as had migrated from the mountains together.

The compound of Ekpanku-Nombi is disputed between Elanti of Tanga and Nkwamepaw of Elumba and in such small units the additional ground is a matter of importance. For some years the Ekpanku has most reluctantly paid his tax through the Dunkube

Quarter of Elumba, but he claims that by family and position he belongs to Tanga. His ground is on the Tanga side of the Mo River, and it is significant that Elanti who claims him for Tanga is the head of his family Mebong whereas the Elumba advocate Nkwamepaw belongs to the Mengurim family. The extent of Ekpanku's holding is not disputed, and as the ground has been traversed and both parties heard a decision can be given as soon as the reason of recent tax payments to Elumba has been satisfactorily explained.

At Tanga is a lodge and fully organized headquarters of the Mandinge medicine (see paragraph 11.255).

Kamalumpe

Kamalumpe is the transition village area. Divided into three hamlets of the Plain and two of the Mountain, the former are attracted into the Tainyi Kang circle, and the latter – in so far as they do not keep themselves to themselves – into the politics of Mbokampo. Of the two Mountain hamlets Edikan is planted at the foot of the steep ascent to Mboa, but is three hours from Mejom and attends the Doita and not the Dokwen market – a cardinal difference. Mboa is the most primitive of all Mangan hamlets. It is situated at the top of a sheer hill 4,000 feet high (1,219.2 m) and the tangled and overgrown track from Edikan is seldom used. The official Chief of Kamalumpe when accompanying the assessing party stated that he had not visited Mboa since the German era. The Kamalumpe village council is a collection of elders from each hamlet, of whom the lowland have some but the others no sense of subordination to the present Kamalumpe and respect only the official Chief because of his supposed backing. The recognition of the village area is, however, a natural development and will increase with time.

The present Kamalumpe is Ehunkong of the Mekanzehu family and the Mejom hamlet, the official Chief is his son Ehunke, the envoy to the Germans after the 1904 revolt, and the Village Council when summoned by the District Officer presented itself as:

Table 3.5: Kamalumpe and Mejom Hamlets Families

Name	Rank	Hamlet	Family	Remark
1. Ehunkong	H. H. and F. H. Kamalumpe	Mejom	Mekanzehu	
2. Ehunke	Official Chief	Mejom	Mekanzehu	
3. Ekwonken	F. H.	Mejom	Meton	
4. Nkawme	F. H.	Mejom	Metubieng	
5. Ehuke		Ekobum Mejom	Mebong	Claims to belong to Ndom where his family, but not himself resides
6. Ela	H. H.	Ndom	Metubieng	
7. Ngosubu	H. H.	Edikan	Meton	
8. Ebiana	F. H.	Edikan	Mekwom	
9. Ebolewungi	H.H. & F. H.	Mboa	Mebong	
10. Duensaw	F. H.	Mboa	Meku	

The attitude of Kamalumpe to the Germans has been already narrated (2.21). The lowland quarters did not associate themselves with the Bayang struggles of the Tainyi Kang section of the clan, though as always, isolated individuals volunteered assistance.

At Mejom, a Roman Catholic catechist has thirty-nine “learners” on his list of whom eight are women.

Hunyapa

The families at Hunyapa are Maseng, Mengopa, Meton, Mekeng, and Meku at Po Hamlet, and at Ekpansu Hamlet, Mekeng and Meton. In pre-German times the two hamlets were independent. At Po, Maseng and Mekeng are said to be children of Ngen with Mengopa and Meton as offshoots of Maseng and Meku an offshoot of Meton. This merely signifies the local importance of the families named and is

not supported elsewhere. The Village Head is Ngwamadia. He is also the official Chief and a man of some character and intelligence. He owes his position to having twice approached the Germans, once when he volunteered to assist in making the Fontem-Kamalumpe road which had then advanced to Etawang, and once after the 1904 rising. In his own words: "When the Germans began to fight with Mbokambo and the Mbo clans, we all joined in. I was present at the fight at Osu River. After the Germans retired we thought ourselves secure. But a year later they advanced through Nkongwa and Fotabong Koa and worked up from Kumba through Kamalumpe. Ntjem and Mana clans were crushed and after Mbokambo had submitted in the the east and Ekpansu been burnt in the south, I made our submission at Mbokampo. Ajandim was then Head of Ekpansu but after my intercession Ekpansu placed itself under Po."

In the pre-German struggle between Ekusu (Elumba) with its allies and Nkongwa over Elanti (paragraph 2.40), a large number of Po and Ekpansu fighters assisted and the hamlets lost heavily in the ambush which brought success to Nkongwa. Ngwamadia also told of a war in the east about 1898 between Mbokampo and the Mbo clan of Ntjem in which he asserted all Mangen rallied to Mbokampo's help. No details beyond the bare fact of success were remembered.

The Village Council consists of:

Table 3.6: Members of the Hunyapa Village Council

Name	Rank	Hamlet	Family	Remarks
1. Ngwamadia	V.H. & F.H.	Po	Maseng	Official Chief
2. Ngunu	F. H.	Ekpansu	Mekeng	Acts as H. H. for Ajandim & F. H. of Meton (very old and feeble).
3. Ajempiesaw		Ekpansu	Meton	
4. Ita		Ekpansu	Mekong	
5. Ebia		Ekpansu	Mekeng	
6. Ngwenaw		Ekpansu	Meton	Represents the elder Ekwankan.
7. Asuandaw	F. H.	Po	Mekeng	
8. Asuempie	F. H.	Po	Meton	Pays oil to No. 1.
9. Etabunwadia	F.H.	Po	Meton	Pays oil to No.1.
10. Sehungwa		Po	Mekeng	Represents No.4, who is old
11. Sakiwu	F. H.	Po	Meku	Pays oil to No. 7.

Fotabong Koa

Fotabong Koa is a village without quarters situated below and along the line of the escarpment three miles north of Hunyapa Po and five or six miles south of the Nkongwa Hills. Its height is about 2500 feet (762 m) and the prevailing west wind blows at night in a gale down the clefts of the mountain. The families are Maseng, Mekeng, Meton, Meku and Mekanzehu, and Memponke, and each family head has his own Palavar House (Sam). The official Chief is Ilasua of Mekanzehu who succeeded Enombonkali's son Ekpanku-Nombu, hanged in 1915 by the Germans for treason. Fotabong Koa was always restless under German rule. It did not submit with the rest of Mangen at the Germans' first appearance, took no part in digging the Fontem-Kamalumpe road, in 1904 repulsed two raids and was only finally subdued by a force under two Europeans with three Machine guns, and in 1915 openly joined the English. In this they were premature: for the Germans returned, hanged the Chief, killed six men and five women, and extorted ivory in token of submission.

The Village Council would always seem to have been under a President and Vice President and these offices to have vested in turn in the family heads of Mekanzehu and Meku, Meton and Maseng. The Village Head or President on his death bed nominated his successor and at any time a vacancy occurred, a new Vice-President. The central authority is weak and the real power lies in the village council of Family Heads. Disputes are settled in the Palaver House of the Family Head, and if different families are concerned, a third Family Head is called in to arbitrate. The village head, as usual became a reality only with the appearance of the Germans. Ilandaw, the present [1922] aged Village Head, was the first official chief to be appointed. He retired after a while in favour of Enombukale's son, and after his execution, he again came forward nominating Ilasua, the present official Chief.

The name of the village was changed from Koa to Fotabong Koa to commemorate a successful fight with the Bangwa village Fotabong III, and the name is assumed by each village head as a title.

The present Village Council consists of:

Table 3.7: Representatives of Fotabong Koa Village Council

Name	Rank	Hamlet	Family	Remarks
1. Ilandaw	V. H. & F. H.		Maseng	
2. Ilansua	Official Chief, 2 nd V.H.		Mekanzehu	
3. Issehumesa			Mekeng	Represents Enawbi, F.H (aged).
4. Nzona			Maseng	Often represents Ilandaw
5. Asuebole			Meku	Represents Isungwingwan, F. H. (aged).
6. Isobole			Meku	
7. Elumpensu			Memponke	Represents Ewansu F. H. (aged).

The Census

The Census

The Method Employed.

Throughout Nkongwa and the mountain region of Mangen the inhabitants live in scattered compounds. In the foothills of Mangen the Germans have concentrated hamlets along the line of the Fontem-Kamalumpe road and the side track to Dokwen market, but since 1916 a few compounds such as Akawsenge's of Etoji have again returned to their original isolation. The hamlet of Sandong lies also by itself between Tanga and Fotabe.

The method of counting was to collect a hamlet and in the presence of the village and hamlet head record the information noted under the following headings for the compilation of Native Administration Form I (Appendix I). The village and hamlet head were supported by as many of their elders as could be assembled, and upon all these persons the importance of a careful check upon the statement of each informant was impressed. The information given appeared accurate when submitted to such checks as confronting the statement of husband and wife and comparing the Census List with a list of males furnished from memory by the hamlet head or the heads of families. In all cases it was explained to the village councils that they would be responsible for keeping the assessment record up to date and that it was important that small children, deceased persons and the aged and infirm should be recorded. The final impression was that while here and there temporary absentees might have been forgotten the anxiety of the village councils was to keep up the numbers to the figure assessed by the Germans in 1913. The test of checking families in their houses was occasionally applied without detecting misstatements, and the sudden examination of an outlying Etoji compound which had been observed from the heights of Hunyapa, confirmed that dwellers in a favourable situation for evasion had not tried to evade.

In Mangen the grouping of the population was easy. At each count the Hamlet Head and Council began by pointing out the heads of

families¹ and by dividing the population into its social grades (juju societies). Each grade came up for enumeration in order and the first statement of each man was always the name of his family head and the amount of palm oil paid to him yearly. The informant was accompanied by his women and children and questioned as to absentee members of the household. After every adult male had been examined the women were often but not invariably interviewed to ascertain the proportion of children surviving to children born.

On the conclusion of the count the village head marshaled men, women and children and the numbers present were compared with those recorded as a check on absentees and summarized at the foot of the Assessment List. It should be noted that everyone co-operated and that at no village nor hamlet was any unnecessary delay experienced.

As the assessment began in Nkongwa, the method finally adopted in Mangen had not then been fully elaborated. In Nkongwa, each compound holder answered for the dwellers in his compounds and males were not grouped in their juju societies.

The Significance Of The Figures Obtained.

The following table gives the population of each area.

Table 4.1: Nkongwa Clan Village Population: 1923

Clan	Village	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Adult	Total Non-Adult	Grand Total	Percentage Children
Nkongwa	Fonjungo	195	254	107	125	449	232	681	34.1
	Fowung	92	142	95	62	234	157	391	40.5
	Fonwen	256	386	206	179	642	385	1027	35.7
	Fonke	54	68	48	30	122	78	200	37.4
	Total	597	850	456	396	1,447	852	2,299	37.4

Editor's note:

¹ Family in the sense of "all local descendants from the same son of a Ngen" not in the sense of "household".

The total population of Nkongwa clan was 2,299 people in 1922 amongst which there were 850 women, 597 men, 456 boys and 396 girls. Note here that the ratio of women to men is 1.42:1 whereas the ratio of girls to boys is 0.87:1.

Table 4.2: Mangen Clan Village Population, 1923

Clan	Village	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Adult	Total Non-Adult	Grand Total	Percentage Children
Mangen	Etawang	78	91	38	37	169	75	244	30.7
	Elumba	252	211	68	25	463	93	556	16.7
	Nssoa	82	119	53	42	201	95	296	35.4
	Tanga	116	173	54	36	289	90	379	26.0
	Hunyapa	177	118	100	36	295	136	431	36.2
	Fotabong Koa	167	146	77	29	313	106	419	28.6
	Kamalumpe	195	145	55	19	340	74	414	13.0
	Total	1067	1003	445	224	2070	669	2739	24.4

Editor's note:

The total population of Mangen clan was 2,739 people in 1922 amongst which there were 1,003 women, 1,067 men, 445 boys and 224 girls. Note here that the ratio of women to men is 0.94:1 whereas the ratio of girls to boys is 0.50:1. It is worth noting that here that the ratio of girls to boys in the Mangen clan is alarming.

Table 4.3: Nkongwa and Mangen Clan Village Population: 1923

Clan	Village	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Adult	Total Non-Adult	Grand Total	Percentage Children
Nkongwa	Total	597	850	456	396	1447	852	2299	37.4
Mangen	Total	1067	1003	445	224	2070	669	2739	24.4
Grand Total		1664	1853	901	620	3517	1521	5038	26.2

The grouping system secured valuable information apart from taxation purposes on such subjects as the decline in Mangen population, social organization, and the routine occupations of various classes. The evidence of the seniors as to their disposal of family funds and of juniors on the profits and frequency of their trading was thus obtained under the eyes of their companions.

Population Ratios

Table showing the comparative numbers of men and women and percentage of children to population:

Table 4.4: Population Ratios of Nkongwa and Mangen Clans: 1921 and 1923

1923 Assessment			1921 Census	
Proportion of men to women	Percentage of children to population	Clans	Proportion of Men to women	Percentage of children to population
1.40	37.43	Nkongwa	1.32	35.82
0.94	24.42	Mangen	0.63	18.00
1.17	30.93	Total	0.98	26.91
1.10	32.41			

From this table the Nkongwa clan would seem to flourish and the Mangen is certainly declining. The comparison in the absence of the respective death rates must be superficial, but it is noted for statistical purposes in the future when it may be possible to include death rate figures. The disquieting figure is the low percentage of children to population in the Mangen clan. Of its accuracy unfortunately there can be little doubt. The worst percentage (13.04), according to the table in paragraph 1.96, belongs to the village of Kamalumpe, and there a rigid check was made. Every woman in each of the four hamlets was separately questioned and her answers noted. In the result the total number of children counted was seventy-four and the total number of surviving children stated by the women was eighty-three. The difference is accounted for by the daughters of elderly women long married to men of other villages.

Child Mortality

The following table summarises information relative to the births and deaths of children:

Table 4.5: Birth and Death Rate of Nkongwa Children: 1923

Clan	Village	Women	Number of Children					% of Children dead before puberty
			(1) Born	(2) Died 1 st year	(3) Died between 1 st and 12 th year	(4) Total dead	Survivors	
Nkongwa	Fonjungo	254	367			135	232	36.8
	Fowung	142	259			102	157	60.6
	Fonwen	386	844			459	385	54.4
	Fonke	68	171			93	78	54.4
	Total	850	1641			789	852	48.1

Editor's note:

In the Nkongwa area the mortality rate for children in Fonjungo was 36.8% compared to 60.6% for Fowung, 54.4% for Fonwen and Fonke respectively. There was no mention of what caused the high percentage of death rate but we assume it was due to the poor standards of living with little or no medical care.

Table 4.6: Birth and Death Rate of Mangen Children, 1923

Clan	Village	Women	Number of Children					% of Children dead before puberty
			Born	Died	Died b/w 1st and 12th years	Total Dead	Survivors	
Mangen	Hunyapa-Ekpanku	55	173	82	-	112	61	64.7
	Kamalumpe	145	240	120	37	157	83	34.6
	Nssoa	119	150	30	21	51	99	66
	Elumba-Esanke	23	37	20	6	26	11	29.7
	Etawang	85	197	100	37	137	60	30.5
	Total	427	797	352	101	483	314	60.6

Table 4.7 indicates that in Nkongwa the birth number of per woman is 0.70 times higher, the death rate among children below puberty 0.31 times lower, and the average number of children who survive to puberty 0.38 times higher than in Mangen. As regards the Mangen clan, the population statistics require more expert

investigation and time than the assessing officer could give. Such hints as the effects of heredity on the survivors of cannibals, and the Mangen explanation that boys are more numerous than girls because they are preferred may point future inquiry. The Nkongwa excess of sixty boys over girls may be partly due to the habit of early marriage and the number of girl children staying with their husbands. The excess is only 1.9 % higher than among the neighbouring Bangwa, among whom, as among the Nkongwa, it transformed itself into an excess of women over men (one man to 1.4 women in both cases). But among the Mangen no such change occurs.

Table 4.7: Population Growth Rate of Nkongwa and Mangen
Clan: 1923

Clan	Ave. No. of children to women	Ave. No. of deaths below puberty among children in Column 1	Ave. No. Of Children reaching puberty among children in Column 1
Mangen	1.86	1.12	0.74
Nkongwa	1.93	0.81	1.12

Editors' Note:

It raises more questions than answers; if these assertions are accepted, how does one explain the higher number of women over men in all the villages/censuses? And how does it tally with the claim of these people's heavy propensity for polygamy? Would that not in itself make for them to prefer to have more females? Moreover, how do fewer girls translate into more women? It sounds more like investigators too full of themselves not to notice they were falling back, line and sinker to well thought-out concealment/defensive strategy on the part of these peoples?

The following tables make the necessary comparison with the figures of the Census in 1921.

A Comparison Of Nkongwa And Mangen Using 1921 Census.

Table 4.8: Nkongwa and Mangen Census, 1921

Clan	Village	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Adult	Total Non-Adult	Grand Total	Percentage Children
Nkongwa	Fonjungo	206	115	36	59	321	95	416	
	Fowung	100	254	107	125	354	232	586	
	Fonwen	284	386	206	179	670	385	1055	
	Fonke	30	68	48	30	98	78	176	
	Total	620	823	397	393	1443	790	2233	35.38
Mangen	Etawang	78	93	34	30	171	64	235	
	Elumba	347	147	47	46	494	93	587	
	Nssoa	88	75	19	17	163	36	199	
	Tanga	120	127	17	26	247	43	290	
	Hunyapa	263	158	47	60	421	107	528	
	Fotabong Koa	263	169	53	35	432	88	520	
	Kamalumpe	243	128	39	35	371	74	445	
	Total	1402	897	256	249	2299	505	2804	18.00

Editor's note:

The percentage of children from Nkongwa is almost twice as high compared to Mangen - We believe it is as a result of the same concealment strategy as described above.

Taking Nkongwa first the increase in the total population is explained by the more accurate check of the children over that made in 1921 by an African Clerk who could not obtain the same assistance as was afforded the assessing party. Males show a decline of twenty-three or 23.7% which is a small figure compared with the Mangen of 335 or 23.89%, and compares well with the Bangwa of 160 or 4.4 %. The other small increase in Nkongwa call for no comment except that they represent a nearer approximation to accuracy than in 1921 and not an actual increase in population.

Table 4.9: Comparison of 1921 and 1923 Population of Total Nkongwa and Mangen

Clan	Village	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Adult	Total Non-Adult	Grand Total	% children
Nkongwa									
1921	Total	620	823	397	393	1443	790	2233	35.82
1923	Total	597	850	456	393	1447	852	2299	37.43
Increase or Decrease		-23	+27	+59		+4	+62	+66	+1.61
					+3				
Mangen									
1921	Total	1402	897	256	249	2299	505	2804	18.0
1923	Total	1067	1003	445	224	2070	669	2739	24.42
Increase or Decrease		-335	+106	+189	-25	-226	+164	-62	+ 6.40

In the Mangen area the decline of 335 males would be startling but for the astonishing similarity between the number of taxable males recorded by the Germans in 1913 and the males registered by the Census clerk in 1921. The following table compares the figures and supports the local assertion that the number given by the Germans has always been accepted pending re-assessment.

Table 4.10: Taxable Male of Mangen Villages: 1913, 1921 and 1923

Village	Taxable males according to German record 1913	Number of males recorded in 1921	1923	Comparison of 1921 with 1913 Increase	Decrease
Etawang	78	78	78	-	-
Elumba	347	347	252	-	-
Nssoa	86	88	82	2	-
Tanga	108	120	116	12	-
Hunyapa	262	263	177	1	-
Fotabong Koa	263	263	167	-	-
Kamalumpe	239	243	195	4	-
Total	1383	1402	1067	19	

The villages of Elumba (-95), Hunyapa (-86), Fotabong Koa (-96), and Kamalumpe (-48) are those principally concerned though all show a decline. The deaths are put down in every case to the influenza epidemic of 1917 and the steady decline in population since the European occupation. The percentage of children to population (18) and the child mortality rate of 60 % confirm the alleged decline. The influenza mortality is known to have been very heavy but no statistics are available. When it is recalled that the last careful assessment took place not later than 1913 and that in the interval the area has suffered from the effects of war and pestilence, the complaint of Ngwamadia, Chief of Hunyapa, has the pathos of truth: "Our women are barren, our people die, and there is no one to succeed them". Over forty men are said to have died of the influenza at Hunyapa alone. In the case of Fotabong Koa, careful analysis works out as follows and suggests that of the alternatives of gross deception and a decline in population the latter is the more reasonable on figures alone.

Reconciliation by Village Council of 1913 with 1923 numbers

Table 4.11: Males in 1913 and 1923

Description	1913	1923
Total males	263	-
Dead tax payers whose names are known to the family heads	55	-
Dead tax payers on whose behalf children have paid tax in recent years	32	-
Difference unaccountable in the absence of a German nominal roll	9	-
Total males	359	167

The Floating Population

The floating population embraces plantation labourers, artisans, and employees and the trading element. The last strictly should not be included as it consists of the village bachelors whose main source of

livelihood is trading in kernels at the markets of Fonjungo, Dokwen, Dosenge and Doita, in livestock at Mombo Bisuk, or in longer ventures to Nkongsamba. The number of plantation labourers for Nkongwa is 104, and for Mangen 191, and there can be little doubt that it tends to increase. The few artisans among whom are reckoned four hospital dressers, work in the French Cameroons as do most of the labourers not employed on the plantations. There are no alien natives permanently resident and the Hausas who attend the markets come over the French border.

Village and District Administration

Village Administration

The German Pattern

The form of village administration established by the Germans was uniform and artificial. Both among the Nkongwa and the Mangen, it consisted of an official chief responsible to the military administrator at Mbo Post and a headman responsible to the chief. Both officials were chosen for their intelligence and adaptability. If an existing village chief was a suitable candidate he was retained. If not, he was disregarded. Where, as among the Mangen, the chief was no more than the head of the council of elders pre-eminent from seniority or military skill the position of the official chief was no whit modified.

Editors' Note:

Another contradiction vis-a-vis the sanctity of the colonial enterprise in that heavy handed, top-down and outright dictatorial tactics should be utilized by those claiming to teach democracy to 'backward' races and bring them into 'civilization'. The forceful establishment of alternate administrative channels created antagonistic poles of allegiance and thereby helped, not only to hasten the dislocation of host customs, but also to ensure the entrenchment of colonial suzerainty.

Nkongwa Village Administration

Among the Nkongwa two forms of village administration were struggling for mastery at the opening of the German era. At Fonjungo, the resemblance to the Bangwa type is very close but with minor differences suggesting a Bamileke rather than a Bangwa origin. At the head of the community stands the chief – the nominee of his predecessor from his predecessor's family. Simultaneously with the chief are nominated – also from the chief's family – a council of three, *Ekamfaw*, "The right hand man", *Esaa*, "The left hand man" and *Mianfaw*, "The second right hand man", and it is curious to note the exact parallel to the *Otun Bale* and *Osi Bale* councilors at Ibadan,

Nigeria. Over against this council are the *Nkem* (the head of families), and they are represented on the council by their principal member the Nkemdi. When the son of an *Nkem* succeeds his father he pays to the chief a pig, two goats, fifteen jars of palm wine, twenty-seven leaves of tobacco, a fee worth about £3:4:6. As among the Bangwa the chief's insignia include a horse tail switch, ivory armlets, a quilted cap, a striped tunic and a blue and white striped loin cloth. His women wear brass anklets and ivory ear-rings. Fonjungo makes money by selling the privilege of these insignia to wealthy *Nkem* or even to private individuals. This form of administration duplicates itself within the sub-hamlets of Folepe and Fonkennya but is not derived from Fonjungo. These hamlets have but recently become subordinate and are directly subject from their situation to Bangwa influence. Folepe, as has been noted, is of the Bangwa clan of Foreke Tscha Tscha.

Such was the form of village administration found by the assessing party in the alien section of the Nkongwa clan, but on proceeding to Fowung and Fonwen, villages of true Nkongwa stock, this organization was only found in a modified form. At Fowung only on *Esa* exists, and at Fonwen, a very curious situation revealed itself.

The chief explained his position as in all respects similar to that of Fonjungo. He produced a council of not three but seven *Esaa* of whose number and appointment he gave a confused account. As at Fonjungo their functions were to hear cases, to advise the chief, and in his absence, to represent him. But they were by no means sure of themselves, and on being questioned the chief admitted that the institution was recent in imitation of the Bangwas. On the other hand the *Nkem* were produced without any hesitation and included a brother of the chief. It was significant that the chief was living with a few followers on the plain near the Elumba border, while all his people and the heads of families (*Nkem*) still clung to their ancestral hill top, 3000 feet [914.40 m] up. They had apparently no taste for innovations. At Fonwen, the chief has nothing to say to the appointment of *Nkem*.

The Bangwa imitation extends to the appointments of a *Mambia* or "Headwoman" (*Bangwa Mafan*) who is charged with the representation of women's grievances and the entertainment of strangers. Unlike *Mafan*, she is married and has no judicial powers. In fact she is but the head of the woman's juju to be found in every village but here dignified by an alien title without any added distinction.

Yet another cross influence has obtained a foothold in Nkongwa village administration. At the date of assessment the chief of Fonwen had recently introduced the *Niankepe* juju from the Banyang village of Defang. Among the Banyangs, *Niankepe* is a pervading society which enlists all important members of the village community and controls their activities. Usually it is purchased by collective subscription but the chief of Fonwen's statement that the purchase has crippled his resources would indicate that this innovation also is not generally approved.

In Fonjungo, the rule of the chief and his council is effective but seems more jealously watched by the *Nkem* than among the Bangwas. At Fonwen and its offshoots, the village council of elders – the *Nkem* – headed by the chief would seem yielding to the Bangwa fashion of an *Esaa* council joined to the *Nkem*. Writing in September 1922 the District Officer thus summarized the situation:

“The Chief and the *Nkem* are the natural institutions in each pure Nkongwa hamlet, or in other words the head of the family (not of the household) and the elders. Probably the pure Nkongwa has no genuine desire to change, but Fonjungo, Fonke and Folepe (the alien elements) keep alive their institutions brought from the plateau. At Fonjungo the Meeting House (*Ndindia of Bangwa*) is the chief's audience hall, but at Fonwen the *Niankepe* house is to the fore, and at Fowung no special Meeting House was shown. The Bangwa hereditary advisers of the ruling house – the *Ekanfaw*, the *Esaa*, the *Miamfaw* are at Fonjungo but a shadow of themselves, and at Fonwen though claimed, they would appear unreal. Fonjungo has, however, the two elements on his council: the Royal or *Esaa* and the Aristocratic or *Nkem*. As ever the aristocratic is also the popular. Whether or not the Fonjungo village organization will capture the Nkongwa hamlet, or the latter by consolidating the clan and absorbing Fonjungo revert to the more primitive government of the family heads will be decided in the next generation”

Mangen Village Administration

In Mangen, village administration is a new idea because the village has only recently arisen. For some while before the Germans it has

plainly existed as a semi-conscious organization, for each of the present units can name senior elders who were then respected in all the constituent hamlets. Tainyi Kang of Etawang was recognized as village head of the present two areas of Etawang and Elumba, Nfambaw of Nssoa, Ewelle of Tanga and Awte of the three lowland hamlets of Kamalumpe. They were leaders in war, and headed the council of elders (family heads) who decided disputes between hamlets which in earlier times would have been settled by private fighting. The pre-European position among the upland villages is more indistinct. Mboa Kamalumpe, Hunyapa Ekpansu and Po-Hunyapa were independent hamlets, and in Fotabong Koa no village head was recognized even although the village consisted of a single large hamlet. At Koa the head of each family administered his dependents, and if one of these quarreled with a member of another family, the matter was thrashed out in the meeting house of either family head and perhaps under the presidency of a third.

The German system of chiefs and headmen at once gave reality to these groups. Administration became real as soon as taxation was introduced, and after two or three payments the individual tax payer was in a fair way to become a villager.

By 1914, village administration was a fact among both the Nkongwa and the Mangen. Every where the official pattern was a chief assisted by a headman. The chief had to attend yearly at Mbo Post (Ngongo) to receive tax discs against the number of taxable males at which his village was assessed, and he was responsible for the collection of the tax and its remittance to head quarters. In return he received 10% of the proceeds. He had further to produce the village population for checking when required, and to execute all orders from the administrative officer. In the main these were demands for carriers or food stuffs.

Beneath the surface the old organization of the village council persisted. The orders of the Government were debated therein, and demands apportioned to the family heads. The 10 % given to the chief was shared among the councilors. Among the Mangen this was the universal rule to which among the Nkongwa the Fonwen section also conformed. The Fonjungo or alien element comprising Fonjungo, Fonke and the hamlet of Folepe continued to be administered by its chiefs.

The Efficiency Of Village Administration In Both Clans

Under German rule this diarchy proved efficient but with the lapse of time it was bound to become dangerous. The official chief relying on German support tended to become more and more arbitrary and independent of his council. In those instances in which he was not the senior representative of the predominant family and therefore not the proper head of the village council he would find himself responsible for the execution of orders but powerless to execute them unaided. Hence the frequent dispatch of messengers and police, whom even when sent only as bearers of instructions were used by the official chief to overbear the opposition of village head and council. The little harm that has resulted to the native organization is remarkable, as is also the ready recognition by official chiefs of their real position. At Etawang Asua, at Elumb Ewunji, at Nssoa Manga, at Tanga Ewumia and at Kamalumpe Ehunke readily pointed out the actual head of the village council and stated their own deference to him. Only at Elumba and Nssoa would the official chiefs have ventured to assert in private an authority which belonged to the council. At the same time no suspicion of the truth has hitherto been advertised, and principally from timidity the elders have been as anxious as the official chiefs to camouflage the situation. Assessment has come in time to recognize the village council under the presidency of its natural village head, to reduce the official chief to his proper and often inferior place on the council, and to stop the petty extortions of government agents by making the council instead of the former official chief responsible for administration.

The village council will provide in the future a means of liberalizing native administration from the bottom upwards. Once the missions have become firmly established Christians will become councilors and if the change be gradual and the new member's men of influence the tendency of native Christianity to become "a state within the state" will be avoided.

The cost of village administration and the salaries of village heads will be considered under District Administration.

The present grouping of villages both in Nkongwa and Mangen is best left as it is. In Mangen the village areas include hamlets which naturally fall together and no hamlet expressed a desire to break away.

It is true that at Mboa and Edikan (Kamalumpe) village consciousness is weak but it is bound to increase. Among the Nkongwa the position of Folepe may need adjustment in the future and conceivably that of Fonkennya. But these hamlets at the moment would not place themselves under Foreke Tscha Tscha (Bangwa) and Fonwen (Nkongwa) the heads of their respective clans but would demand independence. As a hamlet of Fonjungo, Folepe is a recognized if artificial member of the Nkongwa clan. To break this connection would serve no immediate purpose.

District Administration

The meeting of the Nkongwa clan round the stone of Suke for the discussion of common concerns and under the primacy of Fonwen may be regarded as the germ of the District Administration. Such meetings are attended by the various hamlet heads including those, such as Fonjungo, whom circumstances have included in the clan. In the past the attitude of Nkongwa to the quarrels of their neighbours has been decided at these meetings.

In Mangen consciousness of a common origin exists but no common machinery. Once yearly the heads of the chief families visit the clan Head at Ehokampo (Meku family head) clan head at Mbokampo (French Territory) to share in the worship of his ancestors, and in the past this connection has led to common action against other Mbo clans and initial resistance to the Germans.

The Germans dealt directly with each village. They created no District Administration. Between 1916 and 1920 while the British administered the whole of Chang Division the Native Court at Mbo substituted a native for a European central institution in the eyes of the primitive Mbo clans unable to distinguish between executive and judicial machinery. Their stage of development paralleled that of the Keaka, Banyang and other tribes south of the Cross River and but for the Anglo-French partition the Mbo Native Court would have become in time as a Native Authority the same central institution to the Mbo tribe that the Mamfe and other Native Courts are becoming to the tribes of the Mamfe Division.

Editor's Note:

Unable to distinguish, because it is not in their nature or system of central governance [as opposed to some separation of powers more idealistic than real; unfortunately, this has not spared subjects of European inquiries an onslaught of epithets bordering on racialism.

The division of the Mbo tribe between the British and the French placed the Mangen and Nkongwa clans temporarily under the Tali Native Court – the Native Authority for Eastern Banyangs – an arrangement that continuing ever since has excited increasing dissatisfaction. The advantage of keeping down the number of Native Authorities and incidentally of Native Courts has warranted a prolonged trial of this temporary expedient. The Native Court in its resemblance to the village council is proving a natural development from that institution and up to a point the wider its jurisdiction the more it tends to enlarge the outlook of each individual. That point is probably the tribe, and is overreached when tribes of differing language and customs are included. When to these dissimilarities is added in this case a hostile tradition, a membership of one tribe on the court far more numerous than that of the other, and a distance of twenty miles between Tali and the nearest Mangen village, the Native Court has outgrown its usefulness. It creates no sense of tribal consciousness and being ignored by the minority it is powerless as an executive.

On the other hand to sever all connection with the Tali Native Court is to postpone that hope of a central Native Authority embracing the division which possible or not is an inspiring ideal, if attainable by the wish of the Native Authorities themselves. Were it possible to create a Native Authority for Mangen and Nkongwa with purely administrative functions, Tali Native Court might continue as the judicial center. But the notion of an executive without judicial power is strange to these primitive clans accustomed to the combined activities of the hamlet and village councils.

It would therefore seem that without some form of District Administration no further development is possible for the Mangen and Nkongwa clans, that their demand for a court of their own shows a healthy desire to realize their own unity, and that it is advisable in the interests of a future Native Authority to maintain a link with Tali

Native Court however slight. The solution lies in creating a section of Tali Native Court having jurisdiction only over the British section of the Mbo tribe and sitting in Mbo territory.

Such sub-court which is here considered only in its administrative aspect would as part of the Tali Native Court exercise the powers of the Tali Native Authority and be responsible for the collection of tax and the maintenance of order within its jurisdiction. Its members would be the heads of the four Nkongwa villages one of whom is already a member of the Tali Native Court and the heads of the village councils in the Mangen clan. Of the Mangen villages, those of Hunyapa and Kamalumpé are represented in the persons of the official chiefs in the present Tali Native Court. The Court would hold its sessions at Elumba the most central and the largest of the villages in either clan, and to emphasize its administrative aspect the members would be paid salaries as Village Heads in lieu of sitting fees. Just as at present the village council combines the councils of its constituent hamlets, so the Native Authority would consist of the representatives of the village councils.

During assessment much emphasis was laid on the responsibility of the village heads and their councils for tax collection and the due revision of assessment lists. Future procedure would be for the presidents of the court to distribute to village heads their quota of discs for the current tax and to check with them the amount collected from each village before reporting at Mamfe with total sum due. After two or three collections the presidents should be able to collect the tax without requiring to bring to the station the individual village heads.

The following list gives the names, rank and suggested salary of the members of the sub-court:

Table 5.1: Suggested Salaries of the Members of the Sub-Court

Clan	Name	Rank	Village	Salary (annual)	Position on Native Court	Remarks
Nkongwa	1. Ngantchi	Chief	Fonwen	f13:-	President	Pay f3 p.a. to two Hamlet Heads.
	2. Mbunya	Chief	Fonjungo	f10:6	Member	Pay f3:6:- p.a. to four Hamlets Heads.
	3. Tazanu	Chief	Fonke	f3:12	Member	Pay 12/- p.a. to one Hamlet Head
	4. Nku	Chief	Fowung	f4:-	Member	
Mangen	5. Tandek	V.H.	Etawang	f11:-	President	
	6. Mbusebi	V.H.	Elumba	f10:-	Member	
	7. Ehulimpi	V.H.	Tanga	f5	Member	
	8. Abunsu	V.H.	Nssoa	f3:10	Member	
	9. Ehunkong	V.H.	Kamalumpe	f9:-	Member	
	10. Ngwamadia	V.H.	Hunyapa	f6:-	Member	
	11. Ilandaw	V.H.	Fotabong Koa	f4:-	Member	
	12. Ilasua	V.H.	Fotabong Koa	f2:-	Member	
	Total			f81:8		

The Native Administration Revenue and Expenditure for the area is estimated as:

Table 5.2: Native Administration Revenue and Expenditure

Description	Amount
Native Administration share of poll tax (33.33 %)	f148:12:8
Fees of Native Court	£ 50:--:-
The cost of salaries would be	f 81: 8:-

As will be seen (5.137) it is not proposed to retain a staff of messenger nor a scribe in an area which would present much temptation for petty extortion by officials wholly alien to local native institutions. After a year or two the employment of Native Administration police attached to the Native Authority might be considered.

The form of District Administration thus sketched is an experiment but an experiment suited to the circumstances. The alternative is to include the Nkongwa clan in the Fontem Native Court area and to retain the Mangan clan directly under the Tali Native Court, and by so doing to check political development. The Bangwa and the Nkongwa, the Banyang and the Mangan have too many hostile memories behind them to assimilate at present. Bangwa culture is however, influencing the Nkongwa and Banyang customs may yet spread among the Mangan. The results are for the future, but the present proposals will not prevent their fruition.

Judicial Matters

The Mbo In Relation To Tali Native Court.

The Nkongwa and Mangan clans attended the Mbo Native Court at Mbo between 1916 and 1920. They have since been attached to the Tali Native Court, although Fontem, the Native Court of the Bangwa tribe, is more easily accessible owing to the road run by the Germans between Fontem and Kamalumpe.

Two tracks communicate with Tali through the forest belt that divides the Banyangs from the Mangan. The northern track covers seventeen and a half miles (28.2 Km) from Etawang the last Mangan village, and the southern twenty miles (32.2 Km) from Fotabe to Tanga passing at Mile Thirteen the Tanga hamlet of Sandong (see map- Assessment Map of Mbo Area).

The Tali Native Court is of the "D" grade, and is attended by the Eastern division of the Banyang tribe. It is unpopular with the Mbo on account of distance, and differences of language, custom, and sentiment. They also claim that one member from Nkongwa and two from Mangan leaves a Banyang majority of members at any session, but their other objections are of more moment because at present irremediable (sic).

The following table summarises the work of the Tali Native Court in relation to the two Mbo clans since 1920:

Table 5.3: Cases Handled at Tali Native Court

Year	No. of suits decided	No. of cases
1 st April 1921 to 31 st March 1922	135	18
1 st April 1922 to 31 st March 1923	105	21
Total	240	39

The Proposed Native Court A Natural Development Of The Village Council.

The number and names of the members for the proposed branch of the Tali Native Court are given in paragraph 1.128. The table opposite paragraph 1.62 shows the Mangen members to be the senior family heads in their villages and the others are the four Nkongwa chiefs. Meeting within an hour's walk of the Mangen market, which most of Nkongwa and all Mangen, except the Mboa hamlet of Kamalumpe and the hamlet Ekpansu Hunyapa, are accustomed to attend every eight days, they will reproduce at a familiar center a glorified village council. The village council is attended by the heads of families who settle disputes between their descendants in the presence of their followers and in a most informal manner. Their fees vary from a leaf of tobacco to five goats according to the importance of the affair. In Nkongwa, Bangwa influence has modified this procedure to the extent that the chief gives the decision after the matter has been threshed out by the Esaa and Nkemdi.

The proposed branch court will give legal sanction to the decisions of the village elders and bring home to the generality Government's approval of their natural institutions.

Editors' Note:

A case of speaking from both sides of the mouth as colonial actions and strategies did nothing to strengthen and everything to weaken indigenous customs and institutions and substitute them with migrated ones.

The Court will be of the “D” grade and exercise the same judicial powers as are assigned to the Tali Native Court in its present form. No additional staff will be needed; for the same clerk can visit the Elumba center once a month, and at first a monthly session should be all that is required. The service of summonses and execution of decrees will fall upon the village and hamlet councils and be a searching test of their capacity. Native Court Messengers will not be required, more especially as Criminal Cases will be discouraged and whenever possible relocated to Tali Native Court. As in the village council the quorum (president and three members) will be re-inforced by the body of village heads. The Native Court will combine the two clans councils of Nkongwa and Mangen which can, should they wish, deal separately with cases involving dissimilar customs by the simple expedient of appointing a quorum from one or other clan.

The Pre-European Prevalence Of Tort.

In pre-European days almost every crime was a tort and the most heinous adultery and theft. Among the Fonwen section of Nkongwa, adultery with a chief's wife entailed payment of twenty goats to the chief and four to the village council, and with the wife of an Nkem six goats to the husband and five to the council. Praedial larceny was penalized by the forfeit of a goat, and other larcenies by the fourfold return of the property stolen. In default of payment the family like the tithing became responsible and in the last resort – at least among the Mangen – the defaulter was sold out of the clan. The fee of the village council was roughly a quarter of the penalty. Witchcraft, the only crime recognized as such, was punished by the ordeal of *esere* bean. In other words it was left to the decision of heaven.

Throughout the Fonjungo section of the Nkongwa clan and the whole Mangen clan, the same principle of compensation obtained with variations in detail. The one exception was the greater gravity of adultery. Adultery with the wife of a chief was punishable in very early times with death, though later the principle of compensation was admitted. The death penalty for such adulteries is a Bangwa characteristic.

The pride of the Mangen in their market, which they have always regarded as a common institution, is reflected in the special custom of Ebeng. Quarrels resulting in homicide in the market or on the way

thereto were judged *in situ*. The slayer had to pay to the market Elders twelve goats and to give a woman of his family to the brother of the deceased. On the birth of a son the brother produced him before the Elders and in their presence named him after the dead man thus clearing the market from all pollution.

Editor's Note:

It is mportant to observe, in passing, the entrenched system of restitutive justice, which is still only gaining root in many European systems of justice as a clear-cut contradiction to the favoured 'primitive' label lavishly aspersed on non-Caucasian peoples during the colonial project.

Agriculture and Land Tenure

Agriculture

Crops Grown

Throughout the forest belt of the Cameroons and up to the crest of the escarpment the crops are always plantains, cocoyams, maize, yams, cassava, groundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes, the ngondo gourd (egusi/melon seeds) and pepper. Different localities only vary in their preference for one over another of the luxury varieties. Plantains and cocoyams are staples, maize is sometimes a staple, sometimes a luxury, and the other crops are all luxuries grown to supplement the regular diet or in other areas than Mbo for market.

In the Nkongwa and Mangan areas the poor nature of the soil and the wealth of oil palms alike, handicap the farmer, and the farm is not seriously reckoned among the sources of income. Both in the mountains and the plain it provides subsistence and no real margin.

The sellers of foodstuffs in the Sikamanja (Nkongwa) and Dokwen (Mangen) markets are either anxious to exchange one product for another or are compelled almost reluctantly to dispose of a momentary surplus. Everyone is a farmer in that he assists his wife or wives to grow the means of his own subsistence but as the following table 6.1 shows only 188, out of 1164 males reckon farming their main source of livelihood. In Nkongwa, the occupation of “farmer” is often equivalent to the “gentlemen” of British official forms.

The Mangan hill villages show the least variety of crops. Cocoa, though here and there grown, consists at present of only a few plants and is unlikely to increase until a factory opens within reasonable distance. Only one tobacco grower was found and he was a French subject from Mbokambo.

The System Of Cultivation

Intensive cultivation is unknown. With the set of the dry season each married man clears the bush which he intends to open that year. As soon as he has cleared it, which he does with the assistance of his

hamlet contemporaries, his wife or wives burn the undergrowth and felled trees most of which remain half charred. The husband then plants the number of plantains he considers essential before leaving the ground to his wife's or wives' activities. Cocoyams, maize, ngondo, beans, and yams whether all or some, are planted by the women in raised heaps in the lowlands and in drills in the highlands. Yams and cocoyams have generally patches to themselves but the other luxury crops are intermingled. After the women have finished the husband plants as many more plantains as the ground can hold. The subsequent care of the crops falls wholly to the women, though it is stated that only the man cuts the plantains and that the women harvest the crops that they have sown. Where much maize is planted it becomes one of the staple products, but in most cases the crop permits of two weeks' consumption of fresh maize and a reserve of dried cobs for the "hungry" months – the height of the rains – and for seed.

Table 6.1: Number of Farmers and the Distribution of Crops in Nkongwa and Mangen Areas.

Clan	No.	Village	Staple Crops	Luxury crops	Economic crops	No. Of Farmers
Nkongwa	1	Fonjungo	Plantains, cocos (taro), makabo, maize	Ground nuts, sweet potatoes, cassava (a little), few yams.	None	58
	2	Fonke	Cocos (taro), plantains	Maize, groundnuts, cassava (a little), few yams)	None	4
	3	Fowung	Cocos (taro), makabo, plantains	Maize, groundnuts, beans cassava, yams	Cocoa (very little)	12
	4	Fonwen	Plantains, cocos (taro)	Maize, groundnuts, cassava yams, sweet potatoes	None	72
		Total Nkongwa	(146 ex 597 males)			146
Mangen	5	Etawang	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Groundnuts, beans, ngondo, sweet potatoes, the smaller yam, cassava	None	2
	6	Nsoa	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Groundnuts, beans, ngondo, sweet potatoes, yams (a few of both species), cassava	None	3
	7	Tanga	Plantains, cocos (taro)	Maize, beans, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, ngondo and a few yams, cassava	Cocoa (very little)	14
	8	Elumba	Plantains, cocos (taro)	Maize, beans, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, ngondo and a few yams, cassava	None	5
	9	Kamalumpe	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Beans, ngondo, cassava	Cocoa (very little)	3
	10	Fotabong Kou	Plantains, cocos (taro), maize	Beans, cassava	None	7
	11	Hunyapa	Plantains	Cocoyams, maize, beans, cassava	Tobacco (very little)	8
		Total Mangen (42 ex 1067 males)				42
		Total Nkongwa and Mangen		(188 ex 1664 males)		188

In Nkongwa the ground is left fallowed after a year except for the plantains already planted which are not completely exhausted for two or three seasons. If the ground has been farmed before the fallow interval is five years, but if the soil is virgin not more than three. In Mangen a two years rotation obtains. In the first the same crops are planted as in Nkongwa and in the second groundnuts, maize, and beans. The ground then lies fallowed for four or five years.

Degree of Skill

The degree of skill exhibited is slight. Plantains and cocoyams grow almost without attention, and the habit of intermingling different plants gives poor results. The clearing on the whole is bad. Stumps are not removed and fallen trees take up too much of the ground. The soil is stony but no attempt is made to relieve the surface. These criticisms are according to intelligent native standards. It is idle in a neighbourhood very rarely visited to complain of the wastefulness of firing and the neglect to make use of leaf mould.

Editors' Note:

A classic example of lack of local cultural knowledge / using foreign standards to judge different environment, e.g. several studies have proven that intermingling cultivation is more profitable than monoculture in subsistence farming. Moreso, eradicating stumps is costly and requires sophisticated equipment. Importation of topsoil is out of the question since everywhere is stony.

Approximate Area under Cultivation

The acreage under cultivation is roughly 850 acres (343 hectares) in Nkongwa and 1003 acres (405 hectares) in Mangen. The average plot for a woman is rather over an acre (0.4 hectares) and the average is calculated on the number of women. No useful purpose is served by estimating the acreage under different crops. Each plot is a complete garden and many crops grow intermingled. Plantains are scattered round every farm and planted in clumps behind the hamlet houses. Cocoyams account for five eighths of the remaining space, maize for nearly a quarter, and cassava, yams, beans, ground nuts, ngondo, sweet potatoes and pepper for the remainder.

The method of farming is individual, though both women and men voluntarily assist their companions with heavy work. This is especially

true of the preliminary work of clearing and burning. Children of all ages assist as part of their education but their labour is not taken into account.

Editors' Note:

*Not clear what is meant by (not) taking the labour of children into account. Nor is it made clear the conditions under which farming is 'individual'. If anything, a lot of farm work takes place through **mpogoleh**, a highly cooperative system whereby members (of a social, age, professional, etc. group) take turn working in one anothers farm, construction projects, etc.*

Land Tenure and Ownership of Sylvan Wealth

Arable Land

The system of tenure of arable land in Nkongwa and Mangen is the same. It is assumed that the original heads of families took from the bush enough land for their needs. As their children grow up they divided the farm land among them, on the principle that all land once cultivated is farm land and belongs to the family that has reclaimed it. If the original holding proved too small for the increased family any member who could not obtain a share of the cultivated land reclaimed more bush and this too passed into the family demesne. Once assigned to an individual a plot remains his to plant and pass onto his children provided that they have no more than suits their needs. If land ceases to be cultivated by the holder it passes into the family waste and is available for occupation by any member of the family who may require it.

Thus in the figure 6.1, A, B and C, sons of X, are assigned equal plots.

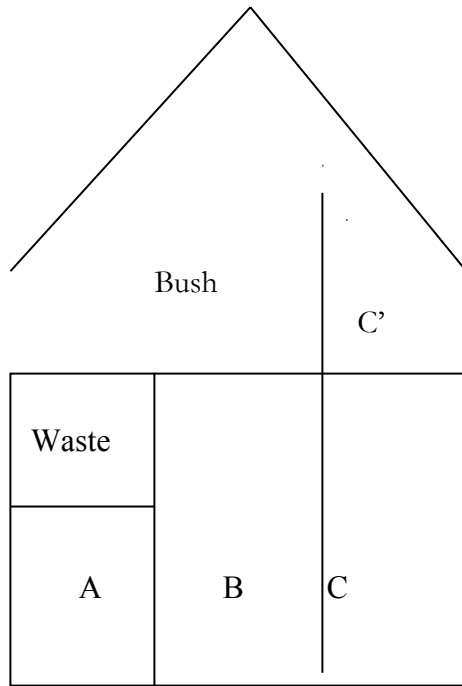


Figure 6.1: Land Tenure and Ownership of Sylvan Wealth

‘A’ cannot cultivate his whole share and the part marked ‘waste’ goes out of cultivation. Either B or C are at liberty to occupy it. C finds his plot too small for a large family and cannot expand at the expense of ‘B’. He therefore reclaims C’ from the bush and adds it to his plot. Should his descendants decline in number and B’s increase, B will be able to occupy such of C or C’ as may lapse into waste. Cultivated land may therefore be said to be held by families. Sale and mortgage are unknown, and the thought of a stranger on family ground except as a tenant at will unthinkable. The question of land tenure has not arisen and will not do so unless and until pressure of population makes land valuable.

Ownership Of Sylvan Wealth

The ownership of oil palm groves on the other hand is a matter of keen interest throughout the area. Alike in Mangen and Nkongwa palm oil and kernels are the recognized form of wealth, and every clump of

palm trees belongs either in Nkongwa to an individual owner or in Mangan to a family in the person of its head. This difference in the system of ownership marks clearly the social stages of the two clans. In Mangan, where the unit is the family and all authority and wealth vests in the family head, the palm belt surrounding a hamlet is divided into as many parts as there are principal families (not households). Thus the undivided village of Fotabong Koa includes sections of the families of Maseng, Mekeng, Meku, Meton and Memponke – an unusually large number.



Photo 6.1: A farmer harvesting palm nuts in Nshimbeng, Lebock (2004). The nuts will be transferred to the local factory for processing of palm oil (see photo 6.2).

The whole palm oil belt is divided between the local heads of these families who have on an average thirty- three male dependents each. Any member of the family may work the trees within the family belt but the resulting oil must be brought to the Family Head after preparation in one of his palm oil kitchens. The family head divides the oil into shares in the rough proportion of two to one and keeps the smaller share. 'The worker' share is sub-divided into his womens' and his own, or in other words into oil for daily consumption and oil for the market. If the dependent is a bachelor the family head takes all the

oil but returns a quarter share for sale, and will in due course receive the market equivalent.



Photo 6.2: Village Level Palm Oil Processing Plant in Lebock Village. February 2004.

In Nkongwa the palm trees are owned by individuals and inherited. They are divided into palm groves with definite boundaries and as among the Bangwa – whose system of ownership would seem exactly parallel – they may be mortgaged but not sold. The owner of a palm grove or groves is necessarily a person of standing. The head of a household as a rule owns two palm groves, and the younger members will either have grooves of their own or take over one of the elder's groves for a rent of two fifths of the oil produced. According to custom the kernels belong to the tenant. Almost every man is either an owner or a tenant of palm groves: for the owner is not restricted in his choice of tenants to his own family. In this as in other directions, contacts with Bangwa and Bamileke culture has raised the Nkongwa to an appreciation of the individual unknown as yet to the Mangen.

Kola trees in both clans are planted only by persons of importance and not more than two or three by each. They are cultivated for home

consumption and not for sale. The species would appear to be that of *Kola acuminata*.

Economy

Forest

The sylvan wealth of the hill country embracing all Nkongwa and Fotabong Koa, Hunyapa, and Mboa-Kamalumpe lies in the palm belt which extends throughout this section of the escarpment. An altitude of 1000 feet (304.80 m) and 2000 feet (609.60 m) would appear ideal for the palm tree in this latitude (5°18' to 22°). Below in the forest the oil palm is as common as in other forest areas, but on the slopes it crowds out all other varieties of protected timber. The potential wealth is far more than the existing population can handle though they realize their good fortune in being assured of an unceasing demand for palm oil from the Bamilekes and Mbos of the plateau (See section XII Industries from 7.159).

The raphia or wine palm flourishes along the streams which abound in the valleys between the spurs running down to the Fi and Nghe Rivers, and palm wine is sold at both the Sikamanja (Fonjungo) and Dokwen (Elumba) markets. Although roofings mats are not brought to market a mat palm with barbed leaves is common in the hills, and the raphia which is particularly abundant in the foothills of Elumba, Nssoa, Tanga and Etawang supplies all the roofing materials required by those villages. These three varieties of palm, the oil, the raphia, and the mat palms exhaust the uncultivated sylvan products common to the highlands and the plain.

Cultivated trees common to both include kola, and the *Canarium edule terebinthinaceum* with its dark violet plum like fruit. The first is not grown in any quantity, but the second affords food on the farm and timber in the forest.

In the forest between Mangen and Banyang vine rubber (*Funtumia elastic*) abounds and was collected by the four lowland villages up to 1914. Since the War (World War I), demand has disappeared with the factories. Ebony, whether present or not, has not been worked and was not observed by the native whom the Germans sent to cut timber. Iroko and the common varieties of mahogany occurred as well as the

wild species of the *terterebinthinaceum* noted in paragraph 7.156. The oil palm is common but in insignificant quantities compared to the masses on the slopes of the escarpment. The esere bean requires mention as from its leaves is made the dark blue dye which with camwood forms the only dye locally known. The roots of the camwood tree are extensively cut and sold to the natives of the plateau, but from which of the usual species or from all three of them could not be determined.

The edible fruits of the forest include the bush kola (*Nwasa*), the bush mango (*Nkaw*), a nut which taste something like a hazel nut (Ke), and the bush kernel (*Nsa*) very sweet and oily.

Industries

The palm oil industry overshadows all others throughout the area. In Nkongwa 259 out of 597 males and in Mangen 458 out of 1067 males state the manufacture of palm oil to be their principal occupation. Before marriage almost every male is a kernel trader and the family organization by which the heads of house holds in Nkongwa and of families in Mangen own the palm tress makes this industry the main support of the social system.

The other industries are those of mat, basket, and clay pot making. Mats are not made by the Nkongwa who buy from the Mangen, among whom the manufacture is familiar to all males. Baskets and grass bags are made for sale by the hill villages of Mangen, and the former for domestic use in Nkongwa and the Mangen lowlands. In Nkongwa children are the makers. The only female industry is the manufacture of clay pots practiced throughout the Mangen hills and by few women in each Nkongwa village.

Other occupations are fishing, hunting, and trading (Appendix 2). The last like the manufacture of palm oil is nearly universal. Bachelors trade in livestock, oil and kernels deriving an approximate income of 45, 60 and 120 marks from each source and are distinguished occupationally from married men by the last branch of trade. In Mangen 179 persons, and in Nkongwa 40 persons described themselves as traders, but the numbers are not representative. Unless physically incapacitated every male is connected with the palm industry and trades in its products (Table 7.1)

Table 7.1: Average Annual Earnings From Palm Products

Class	Kernel Trading to Nkongsamba (Marks)	Sales of Palm Oil In Local Markets (Marks)	Trade in Livestock (Marks)	Total Earnings (Marks)
Bachelors	71,380	29,700	26,730	127,810
Household Heads	0	53,650	48,285	101,935
Total (Marks)	71,380	83,350	75,015	229,745
Total (f)	f1782:-:-	f2083:15:-	f1875:7:6	f5741:2:6

Such are the village occupations and industries. Of outside occupations clerical employment – owing to lack of education – and skilled trades make no appeal. Nkongwa can only produce one artisan and Mangen two. The cocoa plantations at Victoria (Limbe) and casual labour in Duala (Douala) and along the French railway attract a sixth of the Nkongwa male population and rather over a fifth of the Mangen. Greater numbers are stated to venture out each year as the memory of the German labour drafts dies away.

Cattle and Livestock.

Neither the Nkongwa nor the Mangen own cattle and they profess never to have done so. In the hill country the broken ground makes this statement easily comprehensible, and in the lower levels of Mangen the comparatively short time that has elapsed since the immigration and the unsettled conditions that obtained until 1905-1906 have been equally prohibitive. Communities who depend for subsistence on the cultivation of small plots and are without regular pasture would seem to require a long period of settlement before the idea of cattle as an investment begins to obtain.

Table 7.2 shows the number of livestock which gives a little more than one head of stock to each adult male in Nkongwa and rather more than one to every two males in Mangen. Even allowing for

understatement the stock is very low and little attempt is made to increase it. The local interest is in middleman livestock traffic between the plateau and the Banyang – a trade which especially flourished during the two months before tax collection. There is a fair stock of poultry in every hamlet, but the Nkongwa keep no ducks.

Table 7.2: Total Livestock in the Nkongwa and Mangen Clans

Clan	Goats	Sheep	Swine
Nkongwa	375	128	158
Mangen	394	284	72
Total	769	412	230

Trade and Currency

The time of greatest trade prosperity was in 1913-1914. At that time Messrs John Holt & Company and the Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun had sub factories at Mbo well stocked with cottons and hardware, and commission agents in Mbokambo (French territory) and at Elumba – both be it noted in the Mangen country. The Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun had a European factory at Tali. The main volume of the kernel and rubber trade went east to Mbo.

The Nkongwa and Mangen, like other clans and tribes along the slopes of the escarpment, regarded the palm oil trade with the plateau people as their chief stand by. This trade has always been entirely independent of the European. The demand carries off the full supply produced and could probably absorb without affecting the price the maximum possible output of the producers. Apart therefore from the difficulty of transport over the mountains to rail head internal demand has always precluded any European dealings in palm oil.

The centers of this flourishing trade are the markets of Sikamanja at Fonjungo and Dokwen at Esanke-Elumba, round which the life of the Nkongwa and Mangen has always revolved. Similar palm oil markets occur throughout the Bangwa country and are found further north among the very primitive tribes of the Bamenda border. They everywhere serve for the exchange of livestock from the plateau against the oil of the escarpment. Their main function is supplemented

by a thriving local exchange in household and farm utensils, surplus provisions, and the knick-knacks of the Hausa.

Since the war (W.W. 1) the importance of the markets has been enhanced by the disappearance of the factories of which not one in the Mamfe Division survives for the purchase of produce, and by the increasing flow of trade to the French railway. The Banyang market at Tali has closed, and the Banyangs instead of exchanging salt, cottons, and tobacco for livestock have to attend the Fonjungo and Mangan markets to act as middlemen in the kernel trade to Nkongsamba. Pipes, cottons, and hardware, formerly obtainable at the shops of the commission agents, now only appear in the markets.

The Nkongwa market of Sikamanza is situated at Fonjungo, three and a half hours from the French post of Mbo on the main road from Dschang to Nkongsamba (three days' journey). It is attended by all Nkongwa, by the Mangan villages of Elumba, Etawang, Nssoa, and Fotabong Koa, by the Bangwa Foreke Tscha Tscha, and from the French side, by the Bamileke villages of Fongdonera and Fossong Wentscheng, and by the Mbo villages of Singam, Sanchu and Fonsda. So great is the demand for oil that on one market day at Fonjungo at least 103 pots or 206 gallons changed hands. The kernel traffic to Nkongsamba falls largely to Banyang middlemen who buy at the rate of ten marks (6.79 US/3,353.86 FCFA) [August 2013] a bag and sell for five marks profit.

The market which is held every eighth day (Esikonji) is under the joint control of the chiefs of Fonjungo and Fowung who personally with their Elders settle disputes. It is divided into sections reserved for palm oil, livestock, pottery, meat, foodstuffs, salt and kernel sellers, and these sections could also be termed the Bamileke, Banyang, Nkongwa, Mbo and Hausa quarters. Palm oil is its *raison d'être* and the other commodities from finding a sale to supply the needs of the oil dealers have developed into a trade of their own. From as far as Elumba and Etawang six hours away on the plain women bring weekly the excess products of their farms. Once yearly the chiefs of Fonjungo and Fowung take toll from all present at the rate of two shillings worth of oil, three pence worth of palm wine, a cigarette cup of salt, and doubtless proportionate quantities or cash equivalent from the vendors of livestock and other articles. Three pots of oil go yearly from Fonjungo to the Bamileke chief Fongdonera (French territory) for his

countenance. Next to Fontem, the Fonjungo is probably the most important of the chain of palm oil markets along the edge of the plateau.

A rough calculation estimated the oil sold at a single market at one thousand two hundred and sixty marks (422,586.62 Fcfa / 855.53 US [August 2013]) which, divided among the hamlets regularly attending, gives to each seller about one hundred and three marks (34,544.78 FCFA / 69.94 US [August 2013]) per annum. The annual value of kernels on the same rough basis is seventy-five marks (25,153.97 FCFA / 50.92 US [August 2013]) a head. As the average farm is supposed to cover subsistence only, the luxury items plus tax of the household budget are to be set off against this income, and in a family of a man and a woman these would not exceed fifty marks (16,769.31 FCFA / 33.95 US [August 2013]). In short the market is worth to each male of the Nkongwa valley a clear income of one hundred and eight marks (36,221.71 FCFA / 73.33 US [August 2013]) per annum.

The Dokwen market is more in the center of the clan it serves than is Sikamanja and with the villages of Fotabong Koa and Mbokampo to the east of it has not experienced any alien influence. It is held every tenth day and is attended by all the Mangen clan in British territory, by the French Mangens of Mbokampo and Nduko, regularly by the Nkongwa village of Fonwen and irregularly by the other Nkongwa villages, and by the Bangwa village of Fotabong III. It lies on the main track to Nkongsamba from Tali and the west which two hours east of Dokwen climbs 2500 (762 metres) feet at a grade of one in two. Travellers take three days from Dokwen to Nkongsamba and avoid the main Dschang-Nkongsamba road until the last stage. The attendance at Dokwen on the day it was visited totaled 1754 persons. Two hundred and forty-nine bags of kernels valued at 1992 marks (668,089.33 FCFA / 1352.56 US [August 2013]) and 161 calabashes of oil at 1288 marks (431,977.44 FCFA / 874.55 US [August 2013]) changed hands and represent a turn over not far short of f150 (114,694.10 FCFA / 231.78 US [August 2013]).

Like Sikamanja, the Dokwen market is well organized. Every village attending has its own stand and arrangement that result in a grouping of commodities. Livestock is in one corner, oil in another. The center is occupied by two or three Hausas from the French side who sell to very critical women strips of print at six marks (212.32

FCFA / 4.07 US) [August 2013]) each, and clay pipes, tobacco and cutlasses to their husbands. Large numbers of clay pots and baskets come from the hill villages, and provisions are more or less generally distributed. There is even a corner for the sale of palm wine. The market opens about 9 a.m., and shortly after noon is again deserted.

All market disputes are referred to a committee of the heads of the families who founded the market or any of them, and these families include the Village Heads of Etawang, Nssoa, and Tanga, and the Hamlet Head of Mejom Kamalumpe. The Elumba heads of the Mempaw and Mengurim families are also members. A present of a tenth of the amount disputed is given to the committee by disputants.

The list below gives the prices of the principal articles on sale in the Sikamanja and Dokwen markets. The only English money in the Dokwen market on the day of the visit was in the possession of the Hausas, and at Sikamanja there was not much more. In both markets all transactions which were not the subject of barter were reckoned in German currency. Prices are therefore stated in marks. Locally the mark is equivalent to a shilling and though at Sikamanja a shilling would be accepted under protest, at Dokwen it was unequivocally rejected except on appeal to authority (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3: Prices of the principal articles on sale in the Sikamanja and Dokwen markets

Article	Quantity	Price at		Remarks
		(a) Sikamanja	(b) Dokwen	
I. FOODSTUFFS				
Salt	1 packet	1 mark	1 bag 1 mark	
	2 cig. tins	-	½ mark	
Plantains				2 heads for 2 cigarette tins of oil.
	per head	2 marks	30 pfennig	
Fried plantains	2 bundles	Not sold	25 pfennig	
Corn	2 ½ double handfuls	30 heads = 50 pfennig	15 pfennig	Exchange for one measure of oil
Pepper	packet about 3 pints	½ mark	½ mark	
Palm wine	1 calabash	30 pfennig	10 pfennig	
Beans (a) fresh	1/packet	10 pfennig	-	
(c) dried	1 saucer	5 pfennig	-	
Yams	-	½-1 mark		
Kolas	1 handful	20 pfennig	10=10 pfennig	
Tobacco, native	4 rolls	50 pfennig	1 big pkt. 1 mark	
Do., manufactured	leaf		25 pfennig	At Nkongsamba, 15 pfennig
II. PRODUCE				
Palm oil...	Large pot (about two gallons).	10 – 13 marks	7 marks	Sikamanja visited in rains when oil scarce. Dokwen in dries when oil plentiful
do.	Per calabash	8 marks	5 marks	
Kernels	Salt bag (1 load or bush bag) 50 lbs	6 marks	8 marks	12 marks at Nkongsamba. 12 marks at Nkongsamba
III. LIVESTOCK				
Goat	Each	20-30 marks	10-30 marks	
Sheep	Each	35-45 marks	28 marks	
Swine	Each	20-60 marks	16-40 marks	At Sikamanja a very big breed from the plateau.
Fowl	Each	2-1/2 marks	2-3 marks	
Swine meat	One head	5 marks		
IV. Miscellaneous Merchandise				
Clay pipes	Each	10 pfennig	25 pfennig	
Fish bags	Each	½-1 marks	30-50 pfennig	
Woven baskets	Each	30 pfennig	50 pfennig	
Knives	Each	5-20 pfennig	20 pfennig	
Prints	Each	4-5 marks	5 marks	
Cutlasses	Each	2 ½ - 4 marks	3 marks	2 ½ marks at Nkongsamba
Hens, large	Each	3 ½ marks	2 marks	
Clay pots	Each	40 pfennig	1-3 marks	Very large variety at Dokwen
Native dyed cloth	1 bush bag	60 marks		Brought from beyond Bamileke

A glance at the map shows two other markets accessible to the Mangan – the Dawsenge in Mbokambo (French Mangan) and the Doita in the Kumba Division. The former is attended by Fotabong Koa and Hunyapa, and the latter by the Edikan and Mboa hamlets of Kamalumpé. They are reported to be smaller editions of those already described. Individuals from Fontem and Foreke Tscha Tscha appear at Sikamanja and Dokwen.

The Banyang middlemen and the bachelors who take kernels to Nkongsamba make from four to five marks profit a load. This is laid out in tobacco or cottons – more generally the former – and retraded on the return journey. On the rough trip a profit of some twelve to

fifteen marks is usually realized and from three to six trips a year are undertaken. At Nkongsamba payment is in cash or kind according to taste.

Until the prohibition of the mark as legal tender in July 1922, the question of English currency had not arisen. In Mangen during February and March 1923 the mark was still the only coin worth considering. As payment by the factories at Nkongsamba is made in marks the collection of the 1923-1924 tax will present some difficulty. A successor to the European factory which was at Tali in the years before 1914 would be greatly advantaged by the present situation for which the local remedy is to change Nkongsamba marks into livestock to be sold at the Banyang market of Mombo Bisuk or elsewhere for English coin. Paper money whether English, German or French does not obtain.

Hausa peddlers are stated to be numerous but the only ones seen were those at the markets. The majority would seem to come from French territory and the only Hausas encountered from the British side were elephant poachers.

East of Tali trade drains to Nkongsamba, and the routes from Tali (East Banyang Tribal Area) via Etawang and Fontem (Bangwa Tribal Area) via Foreke Tscha Tscha and Fonjungo, pass through the Mangen and Nkongwa markets. In the absence of competition the firms at Nkongsamba are attracting the whole produce trade of the south-east boundary in spite of the goat tracks over the escarpment. The loss will be appreciated if it be realized that Mamfe is but one stage further than Nkongsamba from either of the markets over an incomparably easier route. On a very rough calculation, eighty tons of kernels per annum are going yearly down the French railway instead of the Cross River from the Sikamanja and Dokwen markets themselves but two out of eight large and small produce markets along the line of the Franco-British boundary within the Mamfe Division. This includes the Doita market situated in the Kumba Division immediately south of the Mamfe border.

The following table compares the prices stated to obtain at the Nkongsamba factories with those of the markets (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Price Comparison between Nkongsamba and Local Markets

Article	Unit	Price at Nkongsamba	Price in the Market
Matchet	each	2 – 2 ½ marks	3 – 3 ½ marks
Tobacco	leaf	20 pfennig	25 pfennig
Clay pipes	Each	3 for 50 pfennig	10 – 25 pfennig each
Print	1 fathom	4 – 5 marks	4 – 6 marks
Salt	1 bag	50 pfennig	1 mark
Hoe	Each	90 pfennig	2 – 3 ½ marks
Kernels	Bush bag	12 marks	6 – 8 marks

Roads, Bridges, And Rest Houses

The only road is the twelve foot bridle path from Fontem in the Bangwa tribal area running west by south to Kamalumpe which ends in the air a mile north of the hamlet of Beka-Tanga. Throughout the Mangen territory, which it enters at Etawang, the surface is sand or rock and the grade good except at one or two points near the southern end. The road was designed to avoid the present detour through Tali by linking Kumba, Fontem, and Dschang via Kokobuma and is stated to have been that mainly frequented by German travelers. Its construction was the real cause of the outbreak of 1904 – 1905 and it is significant that though the road continued in use it was never completed. The number of streams and the broken nature of the ground between Beka-Tanga and the village of Mungo in the Kumba Division probably contributed to this decision. Within the Mangen territory the road crosses by tie-tie bridges the Mo river (eighty feet and unfordable in spate), and the Nghe river (also unfordable in spate) immediately south of Mejom-Kamalumpe. No other roads exist.

Two tracks connect Mangen with the Banyang tribal area. The northern from Etawang to Tali crosses the Osu river (180 feet) at Etawang and the Amo river some six times in the course of a level but swampy track of 17.5 miles through uninhabited forest. The southern from Tanga to Fotabe crosses the Nghe river (150 feet) two hours south-east of Fotabe, is some twenty miles long, and traverses considerably broken ground between the hamlet of Sandong and Tanga village. The first route is the main line of communication from the west with Nkongsamba.

Bridges are of the tie-tie creeper variety known as hammock bridges. Five are maintained by the villages of Etawang, Tanga, Kamalumpe, Elumba and Fonwen. Rest Houses exist at Fonjungo, Fonwen in Nkongwa, and in all the Mangen villages except Kamalumpe. They are small mud buildings adequate for a night's

lodging. The villages would gladly erect a better type of house at small cost should more frequent visits require it.



Photo 8.1: Example of a hanging bridge (left) and a rest house (right), 1994.

Editors' Note:

Eurocentricism – and the gratification of the European - at its best. Nothing can be seen but from that perspective as one wonders – even in a ‘comparative study’ – the utility of the existence of something as banal as a rest house.

Education and Missions

Organised education does not exist in the area of assessment. Before the war (WWI), the Roman Catholic Mission at Dschang had established catechists and schools at Fonven and Fonjungo in Nkongwa, and at Elumba, Kamalumpe and Mbokampo (now French territory) in Mangen. These were sufficiently central to serve the whole district and once a year in the dry season a Father from Dschang toured through the villages. The catechists reported in person at the end of each month to the Father at Dschang and were paid by him, probably out of the school fees and church collections. Scholars were fed by the village at which the school was established.

The five schools are now represented by two at Fowung and Fonven, instructed by catechists who themselves have not reached Standard IV, and whose schools are hedge schools of no pretensions. Like those at Kamalumpe and Fotabong Koa, the catechists hold notes of appointments from the French Catholic Mission at Dschang, but these notes refer only to their religious side, and it is fair to conclude that the schools were not recognized by the Mission.

A revival of the pre-war mission activity would be welcomed. As appears from Appendix 2 there are 127 Catholic learners in Mangen and 15 converts, and 42 learners and 21 converts in Nkongwa. These figures refer to males only and local sentiment leaves little doubt that were the mission schools to re-open at their former centers the difficulty would be to restrict the number of scholars. Enthusiasm is most marked in the hills, and the chief of Ekpansu has twice sent to the Roman Catholic Mission at Bonjongo, Victoria Division to ask for a catechist. A fair number of boys go south of their own accord to attend school at Victoria, and the announcement (since unfortunately falsified) that the Father would soon be settled at Mamfe to work the division was welcomed. The present number of catechists holding notes of appointment from the French Mission at Dschang is four, and they are stationed at Fowung and Fonwen in Nkongwa and Kamalumpe and Fotabong Koa in Mangen. The Christian communities they serve would appear orderly and earnest, and thanks to this attitude the village elders regard the movement with favour. No European missionary has toured the area since 1914.

The Basis Of The Tax Rate Is The Profits Of Industry

In the family budget the farm provides the means of subsistence, the palm tree all luxuries, and the man who from whatever cause is driven to derive both from his farm admits his inferiority. For taxation purposes, therefore, the approximate value of crops harvested can be taken as equivalent to the total cost of subsistence of the population, which at an average of 1 ½ d (= one and the half pence) per head per diem works out to f5,244 for Nkongwa (~ 4,799,319.2 FCFA on May 12, 2015), f6,248 for Mangen (5,718,182 FCFA on May 12, 2015), and f11,492 (10,517,501 FCFA on May 12, 2015) for the united area. If it be granted that taxation should not bear upon the means of subsistence of women and children, then in this area the value of crops harvested should only be assessed for taxation so far as they maintain the industrial worker and enable him to limit his output (See paragraph 9.200).

In the main the value of crops can be disregarded in proposing the tax rate, provided that some allowance be made for women's luxuries which are included in the cost of subsistence. The economic purpose of the tax would seem to be to stimulate production by the development of the produce trade, and not to encourage further the exploitation of female labour upon which the burden of agriculture is already excessive.

The result of estimating the annual output in industries has to be expressed in terms of palm oil and kernels. For practical purposes there is no other industry or occupation. Two hundred marks a year must be earned by the average youth if he would maintain his position and look forward to a household of his own. Upon less his father will be unable to buy him a wife within a reasonable term of years. Such industries as fishing, mat, and basket making, and such occupations as plantation labourer, beachboy, policeman, or hospital attendant are either practiced by a negligible number, or the earnings therefrom take the place of those usually derived from petty trading.

Editors' Note:

Of course, the notion of an occupation being non-existent or of labour as undervalued because it is not monetarized [functions outside of the cash economy] has long since been debunked by serious QL (quality of life) indices that also place value on such things as harmonious social relationships.

The forty-four marks per annum which are the average profits from fishing, and the sixty-eight marks which result from mat making replace in the table of earnings (see paragraph 9.161) the sale of oil. The one exceptional occupation is work on the plantations at 13/- to 13/6 per month which, under present conditions, works out to f7:16/- (~6,553 FCFA on May 12, 2015) per annum as against 215 marks (~72,111 FCFA on May 12, 2015) from the home industry. It has however, attractions from other points of view.

The manufacture and sale of oil, the local sale of kernels to middlemen, and the direct sale of kernels to Nkongsamba are the main industry and occupations of the male population. The bush bag of kernels sells at Nkongsamba for twelve to 15 marks or 5,030.78 FCFA (May 12, 2015). Twelve marks invested in tobacco at the factory become twenty marks when retailed at 25 pfennig the leaf. A determined carrier will even manage a load of kernels worth seventeen marks and obtain an extra quantity of tobacco. Four trips in the dry season and two in the rains are not uncommon and every youth counts on not less than four. Six trips at twenty marks represent an income of one hundred and twenty marks.

The sale of oil averages sixty-five marks a head per annum in Nkongwa and fifty marks a head in Mangan. The usual number of two gallon jars of oil manufactured yearly by each palm oil worker is five, and the current market price per jar is ten to thirteen marks for the size which is the basis of calculation. The average price all the year round is ten marks a jar, and fifty marks a year is a safe estimate for earnings per head from this source. Both married and single men reckon palm oil earnings, whereas only the latter trade in kernels to the factories.

Sale of livestock for cash between the local and the Banyang and Keaka markets constitutes the last main source of income and works out at forty-five marks per head per annum. The need for English coin for tax payment stimulates this trade in the last two months preceding

collection. The total average earnings from all sources are therefore for a bachelor 215 marks, and for a married man who does not trade to Nkongsamba 110 marks. These figures are well within the mark: for a few married men trade to Nkongsamba and the earnings of all should be supplemented by the proceeds of kernel sales in the local market (about forty-eight marks per head per annum). The more conservative figure allows for dependents incapable of earning a living and for any possible overestimate in bachelor earnings.

Adopting these average earnings of 215 marks for a bachelor and 110 marks for a married man the approximate value of the annual output in industries and occupations is 229,645 marks or £5741:2:6. As the mark is locally equivalent to a shilling, the sterling value is misleading.

Editors' Note:

1 DEM (German Mark) = £0.366275 (British Pound). On the other hand, £1 (British Pound) = 2.73019 DEM (German Mark) according to May 12, 2015 exchange rate. Note also that the exchange rate is volatile and fluctuates constantly (see conversion table).

History of Taxation

In the alien element of the Nkongwa clan rudimentary ideas of taxation appear in the payment to the chief of certain services and dues in virtue of his position. Such were the payment of one pot of oil yearly by all palm grove owners, the free maintenance of strangers by farmers on the chief's demesne, the general contribution of provisions for the chief's annual play at the opening of the dry season, and the obligation on all persons to work four days in the year on the chief's farm. Such payments recognized the collective obligation to maintain the common administrator.

If in the Mangen clan the patriarchal system had not in early times developed any higher unit than the family, yet the need to maintain from the common earnings the careful grading of the family from *pater familias* through household head to the most insignificant bachelor dependent was an instructive idea from which the theory of taxation

could in due course spring. Under the Mangen family system no member has any property in his earnings and each theoretically hands over to his superior whatever he may earn. All wealth is at the disposal of the *pater familias* who theoretically guards and invests it according to strict custom. In practice a large proportion is handled by the heads of households, but in strict theory the *pater familias* has allocated such residue in advance. Again the control exercise by the head of any one of the seven great families has long passed to his local representative in village areas.

Thus Tandek is *pater familias* of the Mempaw family in Etawang village area, though Ebolempo of Etawang-Nduko (French territory) is the senior representative of the original ancestor. The essential cogs in the machinery are the heads of households. Their unmarried dependents earn each his own keep and the dowry of his future wife by palm oil working and kernel trading. The proceeds are brought to the household head who returns a third as floating capital, and presents the rest to the *pater familias* who deducts a third and returns the remainder. Of the share returned to him the household head banks an amount equivalent to a third of the original contribution towards the contributor's dowry fund, and appropriates the residue in return for the maintenance of the contributor including the cost of poll tax. The distribution of income, or rather of profits (since the cost of subsistence is excluded) is therefore two ninths to the *pater familias* and seven ninths to the household head who divides his share into three ninths floating capital, three ninths dowry fund, and one ninth cost of contributor's tax and maintenance. The following example illustrates family earnings and their distribution at Etawang including those of household heads of which the *pater familias* remits two thirds and retains one third.

The earnings accumulated by the *pater familias* are as far as possible invested in women who form the fixed capital of the family and are subject to inheritance on his death. The household heads make similar investments in the interest of their dependents. Such an elaborate system of contribution for the maintenance of the corporate body blunted the novelty of taxation on its introduction by the Germans.

Table 9.1: Family, Pater Familias, Dependents, Gross earnings and shares in bachelor and household earnings

Family	Pater Familias	Dependents		Gross earnings in marks of:			Shares in bachelor earnings of				Shares in Household Heads' earning of	
		(a). House- hold Heads	(b) Bache- lors	(a)	(b)	Total	P.F. 2/9	H.H. 1/9	Dowry 1/3	Floating Capital 1/3	P.F. 1/3	H.H. 2/3
Meku	Fotabong	6	9	660	1800	2460	400	200	600	600	220	440
Mempaw	Tandek	14	8	1540	1600	3140	355	178	533	534	533	1067
Mempongu	TA	6	5	660	1000	1660	222	111	333	334	220	440
Nkaw	Defang	10	7	1100	1400	2500	312	156	466	467	467	934
	Total	36	29	3960	5800	9760	1289	645	1932	1934	1440	2881
	Average	9	7.25	990	1450	2440	322	161	483	483	360	720
Total Average receipts of :												
Pater Familias		692										
Household Heads		881										

Taxation under the Germans

The first step towards taxation was tax labour, and in Nkongwa and Mangen one of the terms of accommodation with each village was the supply of men either for work on the Fontem-Kamalumpe road or after the 1905 insurrection for the plantations. Labour on the railway from Duala to Nkongsamba came later and was always reckoned as tax labour. After three years of tax labour and the consequent introduction to German currency of a considerable proportion of the male population (among whom incidentally the change in diet and surroundings occasioned a heavy mortality) a tax of four or five marks was introduced for two years, and subsequently raised, first to six, then to ten, and finally to twelve marks. In Nkongwa the initial rate was six marks instead of the four in the lowland and five in the hill country of Mangen, and would appear to have risen to twelve by rises of two marks every two years after the first three. The German taxation scheme had the cardinal drawback of uncertainty occasioned by the constant increases and still more by the double taxation of plantation labourers on whose account no abatement was made from the village

local assessment. The inevitable result of this extortion was that the official chiefs frequently added to their 10% of the proceeds a mark from every tax payer.

Taxation Scheme Prior To Assessment.

From the British occupation in 1916 until 1919, the tax rate was expressed in German currency and maintained at twelve marks. The official changes in the value of the mark from nine pence to eight pence in April 1917 and from eight pence to seven pence in December of the same year were reflected in the lessened value of the tax to the Treasury without lightening the rate for the payer owing to the lack of sterling. In 1920 the tax rate was changed from twelve marks to seven shillings and the decline of the mark to six pence in 1921 was therefore a rise in the rate from twelve to fourteen marks a head. The 1922-1923 tax was collected before 31st August, the date on which the mark finally ceased to be legal tender, and the collection for 1923-1924 will be for the first time in English currency.

Proposed Rate of Tax In Present Assessment

Assuming as in Uganda and locally under the German administration that the equivalent of one month's labour is a fair rate of tax this will work out to eight and one third per cent of the total annual earnings of each male plus his cost of subsistence (Table 9.2).

Table 9.2: Tax Equivalents in Mangen and Nkongwa

Number of payers	Class of payer	Annual average Earnings of each Payer	Total earnings Of class in Sterling	Tax rate	Percentage of Total earnings
594	Bachelor	215 marks	f3,193	7/-	6.5 %
1073	Household Head	110 marks	f2,548	7/-	11.2%
1667 Total	Average	162.5 marks	f5,741	7/-	8.61% or 1.03d per f1:-

Including the cost of subsistence of each male at fifty-four marks per head per annum a tax of nine shillings (eighteen marks) is the equivalent of 8.31 %. The value of female earnings is only included so far as the cost of male subsistence is concerned as a tax on females would not, at present, appear desirable.

For the current year 1923-24 and till such time as the opening of factories at Mamfe and Tali gives visible proof of trade revival and an automatic distribution of English currency without resort to the money changer the present rate of seven shillings should be retained. To the local eye the British administration has increased the rate from twelve to fourteen marks: for, as previously explained, the mark has all its old purchasing value and is bolstered by the trade with Nkongsamba. Once, however, changed conditions affect its value and supplement it by the shilling, the rate of tax can advance to nine shillings without any fear of shifting the onus on to the woman – a contingency to be most carefully avoided.

Editors' Note:

The paternalistic posture aside, this dilemma of wanting the money but not wanting to tax females could be interpreted as one of the root causes of the strategy to divert wealth to actual goods so that the latter could be taxed (i.e. foisting Christianity to, in turn, wage war against, among others, polygamy and other institutions and customs that gave priority and ensured wealth in things other than fixed goods). Nor are we considering wealth in a narrow, pecuniary sense.

Capitation Tax the Most Suitable Form.

The Mangen and Nkongwa clans are primitive communities dependent upon sylvan industries. The unit of assessment is in practice the household, and the household head defrays the tax of his dependents. A graduated income tax is too complicated for a situation in which only three classes of earner exist, the married man, the bachelor, and the plantation labourer, and in which the ultimate holders of wealth are the family and household heads. They ensure that payment by everyone according to his means, and in these patriarchal communities transform the capitation into a rough income tax.

An income tax based on the different earning capacity of each of the three classes and designed to promote thrift would lose sight of the nature of fixed capital. Surplus wealth is invested in additional wives held for the benefit of the family estate and distributed on the death of the family head. To increase their number indefinitely is uneconomical because of their deterioration with age and the low rate of interest expressed in the number of children. The introduction through the spread of education and the influence of Christianity of another form of fixed capital – whether it takes the shape of cattle or of money savings, will be the first step to individual ownership, and when that arrives a graduated income tax may be useful.

On the same premises a capitation tax of females would not appear desirable. At present custom dictates that the male is the tax earner, but a tax on women would add to their already excessive farm labour and might even shift onto their shoulders a part of the men's contribution. Among the Keaka, Dr. Mansfield blamed excessive farm labour as a chief cause of infant mortality and the burden is no lighter among the Mbo. It was also added on the short view that the French taxation over the border of women as well as men goes far to explain the popularity of British as compared with French administration.

Persons Exempt from Taxation

German Law exempts from taxation among other classes below the taxation age – now taken to be that of puberty – and the aged and infirm. Of the last class forty-five were found in Mangan and fifty in Nkongwa, out of 1070 and 597 males respectively, and all had been included in the return of taxable males until 1922. The anxiety to maintain the tax list at the number fixed in 1913 was as general in this area as among the Bangwa tribe to the north.

Incidence of Present and Proposed Tax

The following table 9.3 sets out the incidence at the rates of seven and nine shillings in each clan.

Table 9.3: Tax Incidence: Mangan and Nkongwa

Clan	Incidence of Adult Male	Incidence of Adult Female	Incidence of Head of Population	Tax Rate	Percentage of Tax payers to Population
Nkongwa	5/-	2/-	1/3	7/-	43.14
Mangen	5/5	2/9	2/1	7/-	30.45
Nkongwa	6/5	2/7	1/7	9/-	
Mangen	7/-	3/6	2/8	9/-	

The Advantages of the Poll Tax

The main advantage of the poll tax is the simplicity which permits of its alteration without much fear of evasion, and in the present instance to reflect by its changes the progress or decline of trade prosperity. It therefore dispenses with the need for other taxes, and it is difficult to understand by what argument the German administration would have justified their proposed introduction of the Itinerant Traders' License in 1914. Since 1916 even such excuses as the concentration of retail trade in the hands of commission agents from the factories and the exclusion of the foreign Hausa have ceased to be plausible, and there can be no question that any future increase of taxation would be most easily and cheaply effected by raising the rate of poll tax.

The period 1916-1923 has brought home the ease with which the poll tax is collected. A district rarely visited, not re-assessed since 1913, incited to evasion by the decrease of population due to epidemic disease and the effects of war, has of its own accord paid a yearly contribution *f*134:15:- in excess of its proper assessment. The rate of tax between 1916 and 1921 has been eight shillings and eight pence per adult male instead of the nominal seven shillings.

Method Of Collection And Payment

Under the German administration the amount of tax due from each village was entered in the book presented to each official chief on first appointment. After collecting the amount due the chief paid to the

administrative officer at Chang his quota for the year and received 10 % of the proceeds for his trouble together with an equivalent number of tax discs for distribution.

Future tax collection will be under the aegis of the Native Administration and the village head with the aid of the village council will take the place of the official chief. The two presidents of the branch Native Court will receive at Mamfe at least two months before the date of collection the packets of discs assigned to each village area and will distribute them immediately after their return at a meeting of the village heads. Each village head can check the number of discs he has received by the copy of the village assessment list in his possession, and as he will be responsible for reporting monthly to the Native Court any deaths or additions he can blame none but himself for over collection. The discs issued to each village head will be in gross, and he will return on the date of payment a disc for each plantation labourer and person recorded as exempt at or since the last assessment. For some years to come payment will have to be made by the village heads at the station, but the court presidents will be responsible for their attendance and the correctness of their accounts, and will ultimately prove capable, it is hoped, of collecting from the village heads and paying to the Treasury the whole amount due from their clans. The salaries set out in paragraph 1.128, if approved, will bring home to the village heads their responsibility to the Native Administration far more than a fluctuating payment of ten percent which, an uncertain and a smaller amount, resembles rather a share in the profits than a recognition of painstaking assessment. The unceasing revision of a comprehensive assessment list is work worth remunerating, and a Native Administration which exacts duties without compensation proper in form as well as in amount will falsify the reason of its being.

Editors' Note:

The 'advantages' of the poll tax, if any, must be understood from the perspective of the colonial administration/overlords and not the native populations.

Immigration and Emigration

Immigration and Emigration

Emigration is limited to a few persons who have gone to Duala, Calabar, or elsewhere on the coast and of who all trace has been lost, and immigration to an equally low number of French natives of the Mbo tribe who because of local quarrel or desire to evade taxation have settled in British territory.

The Origin of Nkongwa and Mangen on the Evidence of Dialect

The Mangen (Ba-ngen) are apparently the Bangante of Sir H. Johnston's "Comparative study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages". Their own statements connect them closely with the Bakossi whom Johnston includes with the Bangante and the Bafo in the Manenguba group of the Bantu tribes, (see paragraph 1.58). The Nkongwa do not appear to have attracted attention, and it is risky conjecture to include the whole Mbo tribe within this group. Yet the local assertions of lingual connection are sufficiently supported by the comparative vocabulary in Appendix 3 to rank the Nkongwa also among the Bantus, even though the connection is only therein evidenced by a fair number of common words or words with common roots. Sufficient study to establish their syntactical relation has not been possible.

Assuming both clans to be Bantu, their place of origin would seem to have been the Northern Congo and their line of migration thence to their mountain homes by way of the lower Mubangi (Johnston). All trace of this migration is lost, and it is only among the Mangen that the memory of the descent from the plateau shows that movement has been from east to west. A detailed study of the Bangwa, Bamileke, and Nkongwa dialects in relation to one another might support the guess that the first two are a distinct and possibly semi-Bantu group which by continual pressure has to some extent thrust itself (in the case of the Fonjungo element) upon the Bantu Nkongwa. Linguistic study is of

the greatest importance in tracing tribal origins in the Mamfe Division and in the case of the British Mbo will repay more detailed inquiry than time has on this occasion permitted.

Slavery

Slaves are stated to have been derived from two sources – war, and purchase from the Bamilekes. The latter class came from the plateau, were advertised in Sikamanja market at Fonjungo, and either sold later by private arrangement or passed down to Mangan for disposal there. Prisoners of war were women and children of whom only boys ranked as slaves. Adult male prisoners were not taken by the Mangan who preferred to eat the bodies of their enemies. In all the seven Mangan villages only eight slaves were found, and these in two of the six Tanga quarters. Elsewhere, tactful inquiries by me were met with the reply (*sic.*) that slaves had died out and that at Tanga they were an innovation on the Banyang model. The few who were acquired elsewhere were bought; it was stated, by childless individuals with the consent of the family head. Slavery as a form of adoption become almost benevolent, and it would seem that the demand for slaves down the Cross River combined with cannibal habit to induce the rapid turnover to Banyangs of slaves appearing in the Dokwen market. Mbo criminals who had been sold into slavery - a practice among the Nkongwa and Mangan – were passed on as speedily as possible. At the same time the permission to a freedman to settle in the freeborn hamlets, a permission which followed the German declaration against slavery effectually concealed slaves on the day of assessment.

Editors' Note:

Already discussed in paragraph 1.9 above. However, from Columbus to the present century, Caucasian and/or guardians of and over global information have continued to play on this quintessential 'cause celebre'. With social anthropology as the bane, they scoop 'evidence' of cannibalism and throw out there as the ultimate expression of savagery and evil, and as justification for violently subjugating 'sub species' (indigenous peoples) all over the New World. What is good for the gander is, obviously, not good for the goose as these manufacturers, guardians and propagators of thought have banded together, to a man, to advance the empire and the race through a barrage of, often, interlocking strategies. The most naked of these include:

1. *Academic imperialism – suppressing counter ideas while vaulting to the fore and compensating views that reinforce the status quo;*

2. *Compression of time and space – when and where ought we to start looking? Why the 15th century and not before? To conveniently gloss over evidence of similar phenomenon in their backyard, it is vital to pick as point of departure a period when a phenomenon is raging or not raging here and there.*

3. *Generalization versus isolationism – ‘the practice’ versus the ‘incidents.’ For example, while much ink continues to flow over ‘cannibalism in Africa,’ little, if anything, is said about the practice elsewhere. Or, when it is, it is reduced to the Donner Case, Jeffrey Dahmer, and so on.*

[\[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/cannibalism\]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/cannibalism)

The conclusion would seem to be that every measure of treatment meted out to other humans, including murder, is alright as long as that other human is not eaten. A more reserved conclusion – and observation – would be thus: as humans, it is wired in our DNA to insist on our difference (from the other) when we focus on what we perceive as our positives (and their negatives) even when no evidence of intrinsic ‘goodness’ or ‘badness’ exists. Vice versa, the insistence is on similarity (to the other) when the spotlight is on our perceived negatives. A kind of latent racism and one over which only those with an inexhaustible armada of resources, including force, finance and firmament, triumph and thrive – as opposed to survive.

The charge of cannibalism can, therefore, not be divorced from this permanent war over global resources, in which any means (strategy) to weaken the competitor – especially the one that has, historically, proven to be the most resistant - including selective amnesia, is fair game.

The general price of a slave was twelve pieces of cloth and one gun (modern equivalent 110 marks) for a man and fourteen pieces of cloth and a gun (120 marks) for a small girl. Criminals sold into slavery were taken to Tali or Nguti. Among the Nkongwa the dowry on a slave’s daughter went to his master, but among the Mangen the owner had a reversionary right to the wives of a slave if the slave had no hier, and the slave was bound to add to his wives from the dowries of his daughters.

Under the German administration slavery received a double blow. The acquisition of slaves was forbidden, the position of the half freed recognized, and unintentionally the number of slaves greatly reduced by the mortality among the early labour drafts and those supplied later to the railway. Every owner sent his slave in his stead and judging from

the number of labourers required in later years very few slaves can have escaped their turn.

Among the Nkongwa the institution of the *chinda* has made its way from the Bangwa tribe and is described as the native and pre-European "half freed" class. A favoured slave was created a *chinda* by investing him with a leopard's tooth necklace. The son of a slave was always a *chinda*. He could not be re-sold and he was entitled to a share of the dowry paid on his daughters. The Nkongwa *chinda*, therefore, differs widely from the Bangwa in that he may be created by any slave owner and not merely by a chief, and that he constitutes a class to himself automatically recruited from his children. His duties are those of a confidential personal servant. The only distinction between the *chinda* of a chief and that of his followers lies in the name. The second class is termed Nkemasong, or Ndefau, and in both cases they have a claim to a share in their master's estate and may even be his sole heir. The *chinda*'s lot is pleasant. His duties are not onerous, his maintenance is the affair of his master, and his earnings are his own. As soon as the son is old enough to succeed the father is released from further service. In fact the sole difference between the *chinda* and the freeman in native custom is the former's inability to change his status. The child of a slave becomes a *chinda* but the child of a *chinda* remains as he was born.

Medical and Sanitary

Sanitation

The general health of the villages throughout the Nkongwa and Mangan is good and their sanitary standard equal to other tribes and higher than most among the Mangan of the hills. This is as it should be considering their natural conditions. Running water abounds, the general level even in the lowland section of Mangan is above 700 feet, and the broken nature of the ground both conduces to good drainage and may occasion healthy air currents.

The layout of the hamlets in Fowung Nkongwa and the Mangan lowland group (the villages most in contact with the administration) is on the approved German plan of a long straight street of connected houses with the latrine system thirty yards in rear on either side. Whether this scheme is more sanitary than the detached compounds of

Nkongwa and upland Mangan scattered over the hill side and each grouped round its household head may well be doubted. It is certainly less picturesque. Among the Bangwa these compounds are far apart and even hamlets tend to be geographical expressions, but in this region they are generally easily visible from each other. Where, as in Mboa Kamalumpe, the households are few the hamlet of a family head is gathered on a single peak. The villages of Fotabong Koa, Hunyapa, and the hamlet of Mboa Kamalumpe make *salgas* (pit latrines) which greatly improve on the open pit of the plains, though in practice not as deep as they might be.

Three types of houses exist. The Bangwa bee hive obtains among the Nkongwa except in the chief's compound at Fowung. The rectangular mud house appears throughout Etawang, Nssoa, Tanga, and Elumba, and in the Mangan hills occurs the first approximation to the mat houses of the Bafo and other tribes of the Kumba division. The original type was rectangular walled with bark slats, but this tends to give way to a house of mats throughout.

Each Mangan owner of livestock has attached to his house a goat or pig sty, sufficiently stout to baulk the average leopard, and a duck pen with a false floor of bamboo over a sloping drain. In Nkongwa ducks will not live. Swine are not numerous and hamlet streets generally clean.

Prevalent Diseases And Epidemics.

The usual ulcers and skin diseases prevail. Yaws as elsewhere is so common as to be considered inevitable for children. Five cases of leprosy were seen, one of elephantiasis and five of total blindness. The most fatal disease was stated to be pneumonia, and rheumatism is common in severe as well as mild forms.

Before the German occupation epidemics of small pox are said to have occurred about every fifteen years, but although cases are still frequent and three occurred in Nkongwa during the period of assessment the German system of vaccination has put a stop to epidemics. Dysentery occasioned a heavy mortality among the Mangan about 1903 and is probably one of the major diseases. Part of the treatment consists of cupping with small calabashes.

The last remembered and most recent epidemic was the influenza of 1917. No records are to hand but in the village of Fotabong Koa

most of the fifty-five deaths among the taxable males since 1913 are ascribed to it, and the writer can re-call the contemporary telegrams from Chang stating that to cope with the epidemic was impossible.

In local opinion small pox is a sure detective of witches and provided the patient has a clean spirit he is certain to recover. It is admitted that vaccination is a wonderful preventive, but its effect from the moral point of view is a difficult problem (sic). Disease in general is a manifestation of witchcraft, and death to be normal should be from senile decay. Sudden death even in old age is the providential removal of a witch.

Premature Marriage

Mr. Cadman, in the Bangwa Assessment Report, reported the vice of premature marriage as customary in the Tschati and Folepe I village area (non Bangwa) and as possibly obtaining among the Bangwas themselves. Among the Mangen the observed facts are that infant betrothal is customary, that is also customary for the child to spend two or three months at a time in her husband's house, that at each village at least two children were presented among wives who were not more than ten years old, and that in two instances the children had lived with their husbands. On the other hand the vice was not recognized as such and vehemently denied, nor could the use of any medicine, such as that noted by Mr. Cadman, be discovered. The verdict against the clan must be "non-proven". In this respect it was asserted that the Mangen differed from the Banyangs. The pre-Europeans penalty for the offence – a penalty existed – was seven goats (Table 10.1).

Table 10.1: Female Children Under Ten Presented as Wives in the Mangen Clan Area

Village	Hamlet	Number of inmatured wives in husband's compound	Number of children co-habiting with their husbands
Kamalumpe	Mboa	2	-
Kamalumpe	Mejom	7	1
Kamalumpe	Edikan	2	-
Fotabong Koa	-	10	-
Elumba	Esanke	2	-
Hunyapa	Ekpansu	4	-
Hunyapa	Po	4	
Nssoa	Mbanku	2	-
Nssoa	Nssoa	4	-
Tanga	Bahu	1	1
	Total	38	2

Childhood

Mangen Primary Custom

Women remain at light outside work till seven days before confinement and resume fourteen days after birth. Even going to market is not suspended much earlier and going to market is a very stiff climb down and back from the hills. Unless witchcraft is suspected the child is born in the husband's house, and on the birthday the maternal relatives are feasted and a cloth girdle is presented to the mother to wear for the next three years. The penalty of interference with her during that period is seventeen goats. Seven days after birth the child is named in the presence of as many relatives as can be gathered from both sides. Usually the eldest son is called after the paternal grandfather, the eldest daughter after the paternal grandmother, and subsequent children after the maternal parents. The father lifts the child, names it, and hands it to the mother from whom it goes to her mother and round the circle, each in turn repeating the name. To be born at noon is unlucky.

Until three years old children are placed in charge of children of the same sex, one to each infant. This guardian companion is chosen from the family of a friend and lives with his charge's parents. The choice is considered a compliment to be followed by a present to the guardian's father at the end of the three years.

All boys are circumcised between three and four years old by a qualified operator (malenaiya class) for a small fee but without any ceremony and on no particular occasion.

A boy of four is given a cloth and a cutlass as a sign of impending education and learns to carry a calabash of water. At eight he accompanies his father to the farm and begins the serious business of life. Girls receive a rope and a back basket at three and at once follow their mothers to work. Children are well treated without being spoilt.

Twins are disliked and at the annual fertility ceremony the ancestors are prayed to send children and prevent twins. At Fotabong

Koa their delicacy was given as a reasonable objection, and within living memory no twin had ever reached maturity.

Marriage

Infant betrothals are the rule, and once given the social system outlined in paragraph 1.196 the rule is natural. The anxiety of the parent to provide for his children couples with that of the investor for security to ensure observation of the capacity of the woman before the final payment and every care to accustom the parties to their future relations.

Pre-European dowry rates were seventeen goats in infant marriages and thirty goats for an unmarried woman. Payments to the mother and incidental expenses are not included. Present rates (1922) are 340 marks and 600 marks plus expenses in each case, though in the latter they are trifling compared to the former. The father who proposes to secure a girl for his son approaches the child's mother with a pot of palm wine, a calabash of oil, one head of plantains, a little salt and one fathom of cloth. Thereafter and until the boy is old enough to work his father will assist the girl's father on his farm and with an occasional timely loan. Dowry payments then begin and continue till half the dowry at least has been paid. At this point the father of the suitor observing that the girl approaches maturity will pay the dog (Mpiampe) that marks the half way stage. When payment of dowry is complete and both parties ripe for marriage the marriage goat (Mpoboki) is given and the girl is formally handed over. Meanwhile from the gift of the betrothal plantain bunch the girl and the boy exchange constant visits and stay two or three months at a time in the houses of their prospective parents in law. On the marriage day the husband with his family takes the wherewithal for a feast to his betrothed's parents. After eating the bride's father and family escort her home and on arrival spue cold water. The bride's father smears her back and chest with spittle clay and says: "May your first child be a boy to preserve your husband's name. May you be an obedient wife".

The custom by which a man allots one of his wives to a friend who cohabits with her in her husband's house as known among the Mbonge, Balue, and Ngolo tribes of the Kumba Division exists in Mangen. The children belong to the husband and are known as Manjia, and the arrangement would seem a device to enable youths who

overburden their family to obtain a temporary maintenance. The woman loaned maintains her lover as well as her husband from (sic) her farm.

The children of a marriage on which dowry has not been completed belong to the husband should the parents be divorced notwithstanding the return of the part dowry paid.

Divorce

The Mbo give five grounds for divorce against the woman amounting to persistent refusal to perform domestic duties and to cohabit, and four against the man, those of non-maintenance, communication of contagious disease, cruelty, and crime; but whereas the grounds against the woman are elastic and can be stretched to any extent with the consent of the father-in-law, those against the man are grudgingly admitted and will not be considered unless accompanied by a refund of dowry. The economic position of women as the fixed capital of the family is too important to permit of individual wrongs interfering with family wealth. From this point of view the relaxation of morals since the advent of the European would seem a step towards female emancipation, the shattering of the social concrete for recasting on Christian lines.

Burial

Immediately after death the grave is dug and prepared according to the rank of the deceased. In early days a family head (*pater familias*) was buried in a chamber at the end of a tunnel run from the foot of a shaft sunk under the hearth stone of the deceased's *palaver house* (*Sam*). Today (1922) the sepulchral chamber is still dug but the shaft is run from the threshold of his house or *palaver house*. Each brother-in-law supplies one mat and one fathom of cloth for the wrapping and protection of the body which is in the charge of the elders of the *Mankum Society*. If the deceased was a master of *Mankum* (*Ke Mankum*) no woman is supposed to know his burial place.

In the chamber the body is disposed on its left side with the left hand on the cloth pillow and the right on the right cheek. The feet are together and the knees slightly bent. The face is exposed but the deceased wears his red cap of rank, the funeral cloths are wrapped around him, and the mats are placed beneath him. No earth may touch

the body. The door of the chamber is closed and the passage and tunnel filled. The gun, spear, and – in old times – the head trophies of the deceased are hung round the central pillar of the *Sam*. Ordinary individuals are buried a few yards from the threshold, and women in the plantain patch at the back of the house, in graves four and half feet deep.

As soon as the death occurs the relatives are summoned and a big sheep (*mbo-nkiba*) provided by the heir is placed at the foot of the body for their entertainment. Another is provided for the mourners (*mbo-kum*). The funeral feast is then fixed for two markets hence, the scale of the funeral entertainments determined, and the body is buried. At the funeral feast the mourners appear washed and with shaven heads. The funeral play takes place after another three markets, and is opened by the deceased's juju society who receive the goat. The heir's juju society will next play and receive palmwine and a goat. Family credit demands the expenditure of at least thirty goats on this occasion. These goats are given to groups of three or four persons. The heads, throats, and hearts are collected and the heads distributed among the women of the family who have married. Etiquette requires the husband to give a goat each in return. The elders of the family (not the household) receive the hearts and throats before appointing the day for dividing the inheritance which must fall within the next twenty.

Inheritance

The fees of the distributing elders are seven marks or a goat from the elder of each group of inheritor. Youths who obtain no share receive each a packet of salt from those who have inherited a woman apiece. The first charge on the estate is from fifteen to fifty marks to the representative of the maternal grandfather of the deceased for the benefit of that side of the family which has then no further claim. One woman is assigned to each son until all are inherited, but the eldest son has already received a woman from his dying father to mark him as the heir. The eldest son inherits his father's obligation to provide the younger sons with a woman, and if the juniors are already of full age all who have shared in the inheritance will join towards the immediate discharge of this obligation. Chattels and money go to the eldest son – the heir in the sense of “universal successor” – and out of these he defrays all funeral expenses. When the estate has been divided the

distributing elders formally charge the new household head “You shall preserve your brothers from want. You shall complete the dowry due on any woman from a member of your household. You shall pay your father’s debts. You shall look after your household and they will look after you”. In this way the household passes into the hand of the successor.

Nkongwa Primary Customs.

Childhood

At the birth of a child the husband entertains his family and his mother-in-law (if she comes). The child’s maternal grandmother, the midwife, and the father are present at the naming ceremony which takes place two months later in the dry and after three months in the rainy season. Twins are a cause of rejoicing and are given a special name (Fomanyi to a boy, Ngunyi to a girl). The eldest children are called after their paternal grandparents. Births at the full moon are regarded as unlucky. Circumcision takes place two weeks after birth. The custom of providing a child nurse obtains, but the child comes usually from the wife’s family. Education is as amongst the Mangan.

Marriage

In Nkongwa girls are betrothed from birth or soon after, and betrothal is marked by the gift of firewood and the placing of a grass ring within a pan of water in the girl’s mother’s house. From forty to one hundred marks are paid by the suitor’s father as soon as the girl can walk and a necklace and bangles are bestowed on the girl herself. On the first visit of the girl to her future father-in-law, her father will receive a goat and provisions, and similar presents follow future visits. The dowry is paid at intervals on demand. No total sum is fixed beforehand but on the girl attaining puberty the two witnesses (*eshuu*) of either side who have been charged with the duty of accounting will produce their tallies and the final reckoning will be taken. If the dowry is agreed to be insufficient the father will permit his daughter to have lovers whose children will pass to the husband on the completion of dowry. If the bride price is disputed the father can repay the dowry paid and break off the betrothal, or if the girl is unwilling she will name her lover before the *Nkem* and he must refund the dowry.

Editors' Note:

The author narrated only one method of bethrothal called **shueleh**, which is performed following the birth of the girl child (**shueleh** is no longer practiced). Presently, we now practice **kokeh nshunda** also known as **ezah** (the knocking of the door or engagement) and **eluk** (the actual marriage ceremony). The **kokeh nshundah**, which only takes place in the evening, is the first time a potential groom and his parents officially introduce themselves to a potential bride's family. Prior to the **kokeh nshundah**, all the ground work (feasibility study) must have been carried out. The **kokeh nshundah** is also a celebration, and its magnitude depends on the financial capability of the groom's family. When the groom's family arrive at the, to be bride's family's compound, the ceremony begins with the splitting of a special kola nut with five pieces (the significance of the kola nut lies in the Mbo believe system by which 'he who brings kola brings life'). This exercise, to invoke the ancestors, is performed by the eldest male member present. If the invocation is accepted (i.e., the interior of the majority of the five pieces of the kola nut face the sky), then the assembly moves on to the next stage, which is the pouring of the libation by the eldest person or notable present (In the absence of palm wine, whisky or plain water can be used). When going to introduce themselves, the groom's family brings along the following items: **esoh nyang-ah** (mother-in-law's hoe), **piah sang-ah** and **elikeh-minn** (a cutlass and a bottle of liquor for the future father-in-law's), **lebi** (a present to the paternal grandfather), **epung kunya le lekendong** (cooked pig leg with plantains), **jug-minn** (a 20 litres jug of palm wine) and **lappah** (a loin cloth for the to be bride). (Today, cash is often used in lieu of the physical presentation of some of these items).

The most elderly amongst the groom's family will tell the bride's parents/family that they have seen a beautiful hen (flower) in this bride's family that is of interests them. The bride's family, noting that there are more than one hen in the compound, will ask the visitors which of the hens is of interest to them. This the bride's family does, by parading in the 'hens', one at a time, and fully camouflaged. This episode of the ceremony will stop only after the groom's family have identified the 'hen' that is of interest to them. It should be noted that the parade of the various 'hens' is done in such a way, that the real 'hen' of the occasion is always paraded last. The parading of the 'hen' is done by a group of female relatives and friends. To identify the correct 'hen' the groom pays an amount of money to the group before opening the the vail of each 'hen' presented. Upon identification of the 'real hen' to be, the father of the bride will ask the bride to be if she knows the visitors and whether he should accept the items they brought. Upon the girls acceptance, the groom's father hands the items, one at a time, to the girl; she in turn hands them over to the respective

beneficiaries. After the items have been handed over, the bride's father pours palm wine into the **ndong** (traditional drinking cup) and hands it over to the bride with the instruction for her to drink first before passing the remaining portion to the groom to also drink. After this, another drink is poured and given to the bride to hand over to her Dad. Upon drinking this drink, the bride's father demonstrates his acceptance and that of his entire family to the deal. This approval is usually accompanied by ululations and demonstrations of joy by those present and afterwards the partying begins. More-so, for those from faraway distances transportation is provided.

Following the **kokeh nshundah** or **ezah** ceremony, the groom and bride will decide when to have the **eluk** (marriage ceremony) proper. This can take anytime from a few months to a number of years.

On the day of the **eleuk** (wedding), the groom's family hand over a live **mbuh** (a goat) and **keuh** (a hen) to the bride's grandfather who will keep them in constant good memory of her grand daughter's absence from his compound, who from that instance is considered a member of her husband's family. Furthermore, the groom's family will bring a hefty **kunya** (pig) that would be slaughtered and used in combination with other food items such as **lekendong** (plantains), **mekuuh mbock** (beans pudding) to entertain the guests. The **eleuk** ceremony ends with lots of festivities such as dancing, eating, and drinking.

The bride price, the amount of which is subject to negotiation, is paid fully or partially on this **eluk** day (By custom however, it is assumed that it is never fully paid). The bride price is based on several factors such as the educational level of the bride and/or the financial strength of the groom's family, and this also determines how grandiose the wedding will be.

The marriage ceremony differs in details from the Mangen. The husband awaits the bride in his own house after sending a goat and liberal provisions to his father-in-law. A big pot of oil and fifteen marks is the mother-in-law's share. The women of the bride's house will bring her to her husband, be entertained three days, and on departure will each receive small presents. The marriage goat (*Bullibuk*), as amongst the Mangen, is sent to the father on the day of the marriage and is carefully preserved by him. The final feast is made two weeks after marriage by the husband to his companions who will each present him with from five to ten marks.

Divorce

Divorce is governed by the same rules as amongst the Mangen but a man who divorces his wife in favour of another without the consent of the *Nkem* will be fined two goats. The woman will be returned to her father, and, as always, the dowry will be refunded.

Burial

A post-mortem examination for the detection of the witch who has caused the death is common to both clans. Amongst Mangen the operator is known as *nga* and amongst Nkongwa has no special name. Among the Nkongwa the grave having been prepared behind the house the operator and the deceased's woman perform the burial. The burial cloth is presented by the eldest son and the contemporaries of the deceased. A goat has already been killed for the mourners and the blood sprinkled at the head of the body. Wailing begins after the grave has been closed and continues till the arrival of the *belong juju* on the following morning, when the plays begin and a goat is given to *belong*. Other jujus to which the deceased belonged will attend at intervals of about a week and be similarly entertained.

Inheritance

A dying man dictates to his heir the disposal of his women along customary lines. The heir takes two women and all chattels, and, as amongst the Mangen, succeeds to the obligations of the head of the household as regards maintenance and provision for the younger members. On the day of the death the heir will fix the date of succession which is usually a week or two later. On that day a big feast will be made, and the women after purification will go to the houses of their inheritors.

Societies

In both clans the patriarchal order, in which the elder has the wealth and wisdom the younger man poverty and provision, shows clearly in the juju system, which is merely a social grading of the community according to wealth and importance. Everyone is expected to go up the scale according to his age. In Nkongwa, the boy belongs to *njuk* and pays two pots of palm wine; the youth enters *ekale* for

much the same fee; the elder who has attained a certain standing pays five goats for the privilege of belonging to *aruachaba*; and *belong* is an *nkem* club and ultra-exclusive. The chief and *nkem* share the entrance fees to *aruachaba* and *belong* in the proportion of three to two. In all probability, the first and second and the third and fourth form two and not four organizations. Among the Mangen, *mankum* is the senior and consists only of selected *nkem* elders (*ma-nkem*); *nshukuma* corresponds to *aruachaba*; *mbokaw*, with its three grades of *ileanaw*, *etana*, and *sempuninong* ranks higher than *ekale* and lower than *aruachaba*; and in different villages *mona*, *akalatu*, *nkpa* and *eban* enlist the same class as *Ekale* and *Njuk*. Appendix 2 gives the numbers in each society.

The eldest representative of each household has acquired his father's rank in each society by right of succession. Should he or a dependent desire admission to one not yet entered the fee of twenty marks for *nkpa*, thirty marks for *mbokaw*, forty marks for *nshukuma* must be paid, besides seven marks for an introductory entertainment. *nshukuma* also requires a later fee of forty marks. *Nsaw* is the woman's society corresponding to *njuk* and there also occurs at Tanga a female dance society *aiyim* which was bought from Fotabe (Banyang) in 1923 for 300 marks.

The *mankum* society is a more serious organization than the others. Membership is solely hereditary, and consisting as it does of the governing class *mankum* is accustomed to promulgate orders under the direction of the master who heads the senior (*ile*) and junior (*nkaw*) branches. Etawang alone has introduced the *tru* society of Bangwa, a relic of Tainyi Kang's subjection to Fontem. *Tru*, amongst the Bangwa, has great prestige and some formidable powers (Mr. Cadman in the Bangwa Assessment Report paragraph 384) but in Etawang it would seem but a synonym for *mankum*. On the whole the everyday function of these societies would seem to be to enliven funeral and other feasts. So far as ascertained they exercise none of the judicial nor coercive powers of *juju*, which bulk so large to the European and in this more terrifying aspect creep eastward from Calabar.

Religion and Magic

Religion centers round the *Ndakwon House* and the fertility festival in Mangen and the *ndi* grove in Nkongwa (*ekeweheb*). The *Ndakwon*

House (House of the elders) situated apart from the hamlet and generally in the sacred grave (*aban*), is a low hut of about 16 x 8 x 2 ½ feet facing east and west with a rough altar of stones packed round the central pillar. Among these stones is one which is raised annually at the pouring of the sacrificial palm wine.

At the beginning of the dry season on a day chosen by the senior *pater familias* the whole population of the hamlet assembles at dawn at the head of the village with food offerings and follow their elders to the *Ndakwon House*. A long invocation of the ancestors is made by the *pater familias* who alone is privileged to pray for the community that their women may be fertile and bear no twins, their flock prolific and their crops abundant. At the end the stone is lifted and palm wine poured upon the earth. A fowl is then killed, the roof supports smeared with the blood, the head and legs given to the *pater familias*, and the remainder in tiny fragments is eaten by all those present. The pillar above the altar is decorated with the pinion feathers. Last of all the elders spue water – a Mangen and Nkongwa ceremony without which any solemnity is incomplete. The festival takes about two hours and any indecorous conduct is punished by the fine of a sheep and the offering of the blood to the ancestors.

Among the Nkongwa the scene and ritual are the same except that the sacred *Ndi* grove contains no house, that a tree *Nzi-ndi* takes the place of the altar, that the chief and the elders fix the date of the festival, that the officiating persons are the oldest man and woman in the hamlet, and that the festival concludes with a song led by the invocants.

Individual ancestor worship provides for everyday life. Before any enterprise of importance a Mangen man invokes his ancestor's protection in front of the *akwaw* mound in his compound and smears his chest with a fragment of earth therefrom. The mound, which is obtained from the household head by every boy when he marries, contains something of all the common articles of life (cf.- iron and oil). The suppliant calls upon the departed by name and assures them that their graves are the object of his care. The Nkongwa native does the same with palm wine mixed with grass and earth obtained from his ancestor's burial mound and rubbed on him by his father, or, if his father be dead, by his married sister.

If religion plays its part in the lives of these people, magic and the belief in witchcraft overshadow them. The influence of witchcraft upon health has already been noticed (see paragraph 10.225) and misfortune generally is attributed to the same source. The spirit of an evil liver is believed to become a witch finder. Hence the importance of post-mortem examination.

Editors' Note:

Religion may not play a significant part in the life of the people. This is not to say faith does not. Calling it magic or witchcraft falls within the well-documented and beaten track pursued throughout this report – that of giving a dog a bad name and hanging it. And that process begins with and takes the form of differentiation, which is to construct a hierarchy, however untrue, of cultures and civilizations. It will take more than magic on the part of the author to prove the intrinsic difference between, for example, the invocations during a Christian church ceremony and what he refers to as 'magic' and 'witchcraft.'

The terror of a witch is its malignancy: for whereas an offended ancestor may be protutiated a witch – devil is a more accurate term – must be expelled. The art of the diviner is therefore all important, both to discover the agent at the back of misfortune and to dictate the consequent mode of action. Should the diviner, who like the Highland seer has mysterious powers, locate a witch the only appeal from his decision lies to the *esere* bean ordeal.

Editors' Note:

See Glossary (esere).

One of the worst manifestations of witchcraft is the were-wolf, and the leopard scare throughout the Tainyi Kang's section of Mangen in 1914-15 is one of the darkest events of recent clan history. At that time so many persons were killed by were-tigers that the existence of the Dokwen market was threatened. Of a party of five going through the bush from Kamalumpe to Dokwen two would be killed, and deaths in the villages, especially at Kamalumpe and Tanga, were numerous. In consequence the family heads of the four villages jointly contributed

eighty goats to buy the *mandinde medicine* from Etapa at Nyandong-Bakossi in the Kumba Division.

Mandinde is owned by a lodge of whom nine are “Mandinde Fathers” and the next seven in rank are “The Mandinde People”. They met in a house away from the village before which two rows of stones are ranged for the officers, and wherein is the medicine and paraphernalia. The medicine is sold in packets to everyone who desires to escape the leopards, and *Mandinde* denounces after a dance suspected were-leopards, and administers an ordeal in the “Lodge House” which is fatal to the guilty. On these occasions and on the death of suspects *Mandinde* plays at the head of the village. The players carry knives and spears.

Editors’ Note:

This sounds like the equivalent of the ‘Obasinjom’ juju of the Banyangs and Bakweris, inherited from the Calabaris of Nigeria.

Post-mortems upon suspected were-leopards are conducted by *Mandinde* and on the detection of a witch the deceased’s estate pays two goats and more besides. The were-tiger is supposed to die at the “Mandinde House”, and a detailed account of one such death at Tanga is vividly narrated. It has acquired credit for expelling the leopards in 1914-15 and is undoubtedly a most dangerous organization.

Editors’ Note:

A magistrate-presided court could be a dangerous place for an accused murderer; one would be hard-pressed to find any account that refers to it as such.

The universal dread of witchcraft was vividly illustrated at Edikan-Kamalumpe, where in front of several houses lies a flat stone upon which for three nights of the new moon is burnt a resinous gum as a protection against witches. Incidentally the accompanying medicine from which its virtue springs (*njang*) costs a fowl.

Again at Tanga in 1913 Ewuri, son of the official chief, accused a man of witchcraft who promptly hanged himself and was proved innocent by the post-mortem examination. Ewuri and his supporter

were then executed. Shortly after a second suspected witch broke away when about to be hanged, was chased into the bush, and matchetted by his own son.

Under such conditions Christianity's great attraction is the way of escape it offers from the black oppression of witchcraft. Christians and educated natives glory in their admitted freedom from the malignancy of witches in comparison with which the devil's is a poor reflection, and, if the emancipation of women by the re-organisation of society is the most obvious benefit Christianity offers, a more solid and far reaching boon is the release of the mind from the power of witchcraft

Editors' Note:

It is debatable the attraction of a system imposed by force of arms and, in the least, deceit. To assume that one oppression is better than another just because a few [thieves] might find solace under it, is cunning at it best. Also, running through this is the logic of the caucasian 'superman'.

Weapons

The paraphernalia of Mangan and Nkongwa warriors consisted of gun, matchet, bark helmet, and bush bag. The Mangan was further protected by the *eja* medicine fetched from the Banyangs. Spears and bows were not used, although the toy cross bow with which children shoot birds shows that the idea of the bow was not strange. Spears were the distinguishing weapons of the plateau [Dschang area].

Musical Instruments.

Drums are used musically as well as for signal tapping. Four drums are kept in each *Palaver House* and are of the log section type, made from a hollowed log with a money box slit along its upper surface. At dances the smallest drum, the only one a man can comfortably carry, begins the refrain with a high note which is taken up by the others in a deepening crescendo until the deep bass of the *mpa-elim* (Mangan) dominates the theme.

Editors' Note:

Nowadays, there are usually five drums, three with animal skin and two wooden (**mue-nteg** or **nteg-seh** and **nteg-mbia**). The lyre mandolin and the pocket tuning fork variety would appear to have completely gone out of existence today]. The wind instrument used by Nkongwa was the **mbang** (a horn of an animal with a hole inserted in it for blowing and producing a saxophone sound) and the other **lekah** done from bamboo similar to a flute.

Signal tapping is the sending of coded messages using the **nteg-mbia** and only the trained ear can decode the message. It is the de facto mode of communication withing the traditional environment.

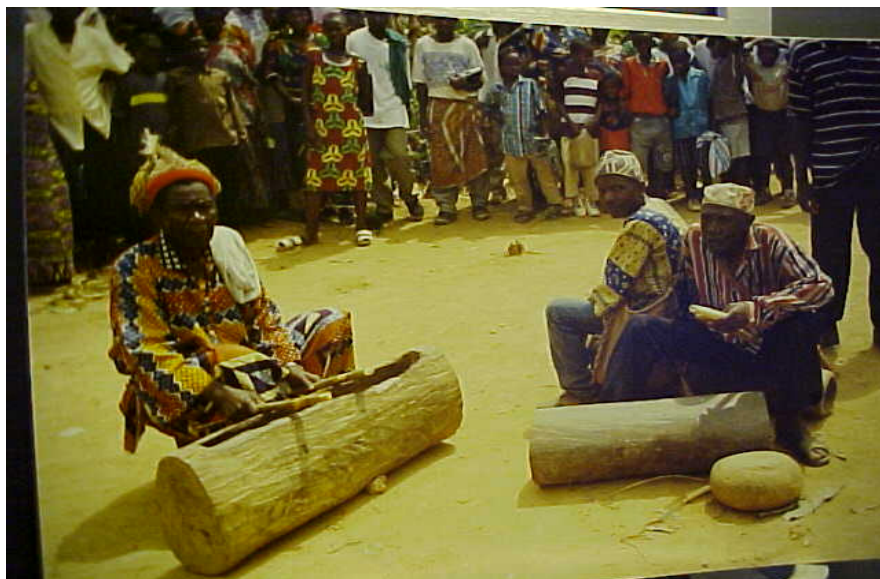


Photo 11.1: Drums used as musical instruments as well as for signal tapping, 2004.

Editors' Note:

Musical instruments used in both Mangen and Nkongwa Mbos. The small drum (right of photograph) provides the high pitch and the big one (left of photograph) the bass. There is also the “ngoh mbia” and its smaller version (babe/ngoh), both are made with animal skin.

The primary communication **mode** among the Mbo is **music** – as it is the case across Africa. Music, amongst which are its choral and dance form, infuses almost everything activity. For example, singing during group work helps to promote

the coordination and good spirit of those working. Of course, one area where music plays an overriding function is dance. During this activity, tons of messages are communicated, many overtly but many more in a variety of non-verbal forms, including gestures.



Photo 11.2: *Nteg-mbia* and *nteg-seh* (left) and *ngoh-mbia* and *ngoh-seh* (right) - two varieties of the drum in Mboland (1994)

Editors' Note:

*The player of ngoh-mbia usually stands up. The **nteg-mbia** and **nteg-seh** are made from the trunk of hardwood with the interior scooped out as much as possible to leave only a thin-layered skin of less than two inches. The round trunk is then chiseled open with a single thin line of not more than two inches wide, and up to two feet long (depending on the size of the drum) in a west-east direction. Using two sticks [just over an inch in diameter and a foot long] the **nteg** player hits freely across the chiseled area to produce the sound. This is the Nkongho-Mbo version of the *nteg-mbia* (talking drum) used for communication, because of the vast distances its sound can cover. Generally each chiefdom or head of clan has one *nteg-mbia*. But nowadays, only a few chiefdoms or heads of clans have can afford. The **nteg mbia** is a symbol of pride and respect and owning one distinguishes oneself as a successful chief or chiefdom. For instance, anyone who arrives at the entrance of the Lékweb Chiefdom of H.R.M. Fonven knows he or she is already in the Royal Palace and must immediately remember what one can and cannot do in this environment.*

*On the other hand, the **ngoh** also has two varieties: **ngoh-mbia** (big drum) and **ngoh-seh** (small drum). The **ngoh-mbia** is about 1.5 m high wooden trunk with a deep chiseled hole about 20 cm diameters inside covered with animal*

hide on one end. There is (not always) a rope that is tied around the waist of the player in a standing position. Occasionally the player may sit on the **ngoh mbia** on the bare floor with the playing animal hide section slightly raised above the ground with either a piece of wood or chair. The **ngoh-mbia** is the equivalent of a big drum in a marching band and the **ngoh-seh** the small drum. Usually the player holds two of the **ngoh-seh** between the thighs in a sitting position while playing.

Another tapping instrument is the **gong**. The **mefukag** is the community police force, composed of young men who have been scouted and found to be of exceptional probity. This body communicates messages non-verbally. Messengers, on their part, and depending on the intended audience, can transmit messages from high quarters on a one-to-one basis or through the mass medium of public broadcasting facilitated by the **gong**. A milieu of choice for the latter activity is the market, which takes place every eighth day. On non-market days messengers go from one quarter to another, in the evening, ‘crying out’ their communication – with the aid of the **gong**.



Photo 11.3: This is the **gong** from His Royal Majesty Chief Nfonkeuh's Palace at Fonkih Village during the 2004 Nkongho-Mbo Chief's Conference.

The **mefukah** and the messengers derive their authority from and communicate the messages of **Etemzoh**. The **Etemzoh** is the highest

decision-making body in the land, and its membership is composed of chiefs and sub-chiefs who make the final decisions concerning the political, economic, social, judicial, and administrative and developmental life of the village.

At Njungo village, His Royal Majesty (HRM) Chief Fonjungo has a vertical parchment drum which he uses for his own annual dance. The only other instruments seen were the lyre-mandolin with creeper strings stretched from the sound box to six withies which keep them taught by their pliancy, and a pocket tuning fork variety of the same instrument consisting of wooden slats stretched on a piece of wood over a sounding bridge. The former was found in Mangen, the latter in Nkongwa. No wind instruments were produced.

Dress and Markings

As regards Mangen the new and old styles of dress were sharply contrasted at Fotabong Koa, and the description applies equally to the Nkongwa except that among the Fonjungo element a plateau fashion of dressing the hair among men in long tails was occasionally in evidence. The ancients cling to the traditional short cloth, belt, shoulder bag and occasionally a black fiber cap. The moderns wear singlets and long wrappers. The difference even appears among the women and is reflected in the greater length of the modern woman's loin cloth, though she does not abandon the bead necklaces and in some cases brass anklets of her conservative sister. In the Mangen hills women's ears are pierced and the hole enlarged to the size of a half penny. After the first child Mangen women used to be elaborately marked on back, chest, and stomach in lines "<<<<", but this habit is also being modified. Among men the filing of the four front teeth in both jaws and the marking of the stomach and arms are fading habits. The younger generation is adopting the Yaunde tribal marks on the face "=" on forehead, "((()))" on cheeks, which they have observed on the plantations.

Editors' Note:

The elaborate marks the author refers to are tattoos. Dress is an important non-verbal communication medium. One area where this is conspicuous is among

young women who are about to be betrothed (ekekweh). These are identified by special ornaments and insignia - beads around the waist and camwood on the lips, palms and soles etc.

Miscellaneous

The assessment party consisted of the District Officer, Mr. J. Betek the interpreter at Mamfe station, and a varying number of political and Native Court messengers. Necessity compelled the use of local interpreters of whom there was no lack among the 171 English speaking Nkongwas and the 566 Mangens.

The Native Authorities consulted among the Nkongwa were the chiefs and leading councilors of whom the chief of Fowung, Awtaw of Fotabong-Fonwen, and the Hamlet Head of Fomilong were particularly useful. In the Mangen area information was most readily accorded by all the Heads of Families and checked by the statements of Ewulimpi of Tanga the Head of the Meku Family and the senior Family Head by age and descent within the British section of the clan. Manoa the official chief of Nsoa gave reliable historical details, and Ngwamadia the Village Head of Hunyapa with Andreas Mbongaiya of Tanga, a Roman Catholic blacksmith, were useful on particular subjects. Information of general interest was submitted to the Village or Hamlet Council concerned, and the organization of trade and occupations was elicited from individuals at the census of each hamlet. Meetings at Dunkube-Elumba and at Tanga of all the Family Heads in lowland Mangen confirmed the historical conclusions of this report and pointed to Tandek, Village Head of Etawang and head in British Mangen of the Mempaw Family, as the successor of Tainyi Kang, the former leader of this group.

Fifty-seven days were spent in the field of which thirteen were devoted to the Nkongwa and forty-four to the Mangen clan, and fiftyfour days in the station were partly occupied in writing the report.

Editors' Note:

Compare 13 vs 44 days in the two major research areas!

J. W. G. Rutherford
District Officer

Mamfe, 18th June, 1923.

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May 12, 2015

Appendices

Appendix 1:

District (Or Tribal Area) Assessment Record. (See Map)

Form 10 (M.T. 41) CAMEROONS PROVINCE 1941/22 DIVISION.

District (or Tribal Area) Assessment Record.

1. District or Tribal Area of the Cameroons Province in which the District is situated.

II. (a) Name of District or Tribal Area. Wakarusa District

(b) Appointed by the Governor on 1st July 1941 as Assessment Officer for the District.

(c) Amount of rating for the District for the year 1941/22 £ 100.00

(d) Rate of valuation for the District (1 inch = 1 mile) 1/1000

(e) Rate of valuation for the District (1 inch = 1 mile) 1/1000

(f) Total tax for the District or tribe £ 100.00

(g) Indirect per adult male, i.e., £ 1.00 of the aged and infirm £ 1.00

(h) £ 1.00 of adult male and female £ 1.00

(i) £ 1.00 of population £ 1.00

IV. (a) Number of Houses or Huts 1000

(b) 1000 males 1000

(c) 1000 infirm adult males 1000

(d) 1000 women 1000

(e) 1000 boys 1000 girls 1000

(f) Total population present 1000

(g) Number of cattle based on plantations or elsewhere 1000

(h) Total population of District, Cameroons, or Tribe 1000

V. Date and Method of assessment 1st July 1941 by the District Officer

VI. Number of visiting Africans paying trade tax 1000

VII. (a) Schools 1000 Average number of pupils 1000

(b) Christian converts 1000 Protestant 1000

(c) Christian converts 1000 Catholic 1000

VIII. (a) Factories in District 1000 (b) Factories in District 1000

(c) Industries in District 1000 (d) Industries in District 1000

IX. Livestock: Sheep 1000 Goats 1000 Swine 1000 Horses 1000

Mules 1000 Bulls 1000 Cows 1000

Approved: [Signature] Signed: [Signature] Assessing Officer.

Date: 1st July 1941 Date: 1st July 1941

Signed: [Signature] District Officer.

Date: 1st July 1941 Date: 1st July 1941

Cameroons Province.

Assessment Map of the Mbo Tribal Area in British Territory (scale: 1/150 000)



Statistics of the Tainyikang Group of the Mangen Clan

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Statistics – Nkongwa and Mangen Clans Summary

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Appendix 5. Statistics for Nkongwa Clan.

On 10th February 1961, the following statistics were obtained from the Nkongwa Clan, Division of the Province of Cameroon.

Statistics for Nkongwa Clan

Date	Census Station	Population	Gender	Age	Religion	Date of settlement in the Province	Remarks
1961	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1962	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1963	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1964	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1965	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1966	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1967	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1968	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1969	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1970	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1971	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1972	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1973	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1974	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1975	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1976	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1977	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1978	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1979	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1980	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1981	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1982	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1983	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1984	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1985	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1986	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1987	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1988	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1989	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1991	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1992	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1994	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1996	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1997	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1998	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1999	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2000	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2001	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2002	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2003	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2004	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2005	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2006	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2007	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2008	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2009	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2010	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2011	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2012	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2013	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2014	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2015	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2016	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2017	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2018	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2019	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2020	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2021	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2022	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2023	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2024	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2025	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2026	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2027	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2028	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2029	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2030	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2031	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2032	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2033	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2034	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2035	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2036	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2037	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2038	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2039	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2040	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2041	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2042	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2043	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2044	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2045	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2046	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2047	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2048	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2049	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2050	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2051	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2052	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2053	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2054	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2055	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2056	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2057	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2058	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2059	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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2062	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2063	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2064	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2065	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2066	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2067	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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2070	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2071	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2072	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2073	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2074	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2075	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2076	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2077	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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2079	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2080	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2081	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2082	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2083	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2084	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2085	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2086	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2087	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2088	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2089	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2090	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2091	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2092	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2093	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2094	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2095	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2096	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2097	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2098	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2099	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2100	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2101	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2102	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2103	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2104	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2105	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2106	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2107	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2108	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2109	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2110	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2111	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2112	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2113	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2114	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2115	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2116	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2117	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2118	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2119	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2120	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2121	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2122	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2123	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2124	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2125	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2126	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2127	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2128	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2129	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2130	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2131	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2132	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2133	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2134	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2135	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2136	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2137	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2138	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2139	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2140	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2141	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2142	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2143	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2144	1	2	3				

Statistics for Kamalumpe Village, Hunyapa, Fotabong Koa Villages, and the Mangen Clan in Summary.

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Statistics – Nkongwa Clan.

On the Following		Province	
Division		Province	
Statistics for		Province	
Unit	County	Year	Month
County	1912	1913	1914
Rank	1	2	3
Stage of	1	2	3
1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28
29	30	31	32
33	34	35	36
37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44
45	46	47	48
49	50	51	52
53	54	55	56
57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64
65	66	67	68
69	70	71	72
73	74	75	76
77	78	79	80
81	82	83	84
85	86	87	88
89	90	91	92
93	94	95	96
97	98	99	100

[illegible]

Appendix 9

Comparative Vocabulary Of Mengen And Nkongwa Dialects

English	Mangen*	Nkongwa*
1	Ehaw	Efok
2	Abe	Mebia
3	Ala	Melakka
4	Unni	Binni
5	Ata	Beta
6	Ntue	Ntukki
7	Sampe	Sambia
8	Djuam	Djugga
9	Abu	Dibuk
10	Duum	Duggu
11	Dunchaw	Nsapok
12	Duneba	Nsawbia
13	Dunela	Nsawlakka
14	Dunenni	Nsawnyi
15	Duneta	Nsawta
16	Nun-Ntue	Nsawntukki
17	Dunesampe	Nsawsambia
18	Dunedjua	Nsawdjugga
19	Dunebu	Nsawdibuk
20	Obawbe	Mumbia
21	Obawbe nijehaw	Mumbia nsawpok
30	Dudu ebawla	Mumi lakka
50	Obawta	Mumitta
100	Obawdum	Nkaw

*Words in capitals are words common to both dialects

Appendix 9 cont.: Comparison Of Mbo And Nkongwa Dialects Used In Domestic Life

English	Mbo	Nkongho	Section
1. Bed	Ati	Negok	1. Domestic Life
2. Book	EKARTI	EKARTI	
3. Bottle	EGBOMA	GUMA	
4. Boy	Mamunjaw	Muendaw	
5. Broom	Etuni	Esue	
6. Calabash	Apom	Mbamodi	
7. Cap	Ntam	Esuk	
8. Cat	Moinyare	Menyesang	
9. Chair (a) Long (b) Small	(a) Karte (b) Ebuti	(a) Ebon (b) Muebon	1. Domestic Life
10. Children	BENDEM	BANDE	
11. Clothes	Aba	Chi	
12. Dog	Mbia	Mbugge	
13. Door	EKWONDA	ESHUNDA	
14. Eggs	ACHIEKU	ELIKIKU	
15. Gather	Ta	Mboa	
16. Fire	Imu	Me	
17. Fish	SUE (suer)	SHUI	
18. Girl	Mamia	Muemunge	
19. House	NDA	NDA	
20. Husband	Lumia	Munge	
21. Knife	Mape	Epungalem	
22. Lamp	EKA	NKA	
23. Man	MUNJA	MU	
24. Mat (a) sleeping (b) Roof	(a) Ngusu (b) Mboa	(a) Ekwafaw (b) Muzawaw	
25. Matches	Munkale	Matches	
26. Meat	Niam	Nia	
27. Pestle	Mpawle	Nzukuba	
28. Mortar	EBU	EBUK	

29. Needle	Ndondeku	Lesak	
30. Mother	Iye	Oze	
31. Plate	Epele	Muesong	
32. Room	Ekule	Muenda	
33. Soup	Nu	Nza	
34. Spoon	Ekpe	Tuk	
35. Wife	Mia	Mung-a	
36. Work	Out	Meti	
37. Soap	SOPPI	SOPPI	

*Words in capitals are words common to both dialects

Appendix 9 cont.: Comparative Words Of Mbo And Nkongwa Dialects Used In Religious And Civil Life

English	Mbo	Nkongho	Section
1. Bridge	ANYANG	LEYANG	2. Religious and Civil life.
2. Road	Njie (er)	Nshi	
3. Drain	Njedi	Nshi-Mese	
4. Court	Ndinda	Ndambia	
5. Doctor	Ngan	Mosalibugu	
6. Elders	Samaw	Nkumbok	
7. Judge	ESUA	NSUA	
8. School	Nda Karti	Schooli	
9. Society	EKALE	EKALE	
10. Tax	Sijebele	Tax	
11. Teacher	TEACHER	TEACHER	
12. Messenger	MESSENGER	KAPENTER	
13. God	Moinya	Ndem	
14. Inhabitants	BA (BAFO)	BA	3. Universe and National Life
15. Negro	Lamamaw	Eshunkamu	
16. European	Nkale, Su-Nkale	Ndok	

17. Breeze	EPU	EKU	
18. Chief	Nwon (Nkale)	Mfaw	
19. Elder	Samaw	Nkumbuk	
20. Village	Mpu	Nua	
21. Council	ESUM	ESUN	
22. Councillor	Mai-Sua	Ese Nsun	
23. Customs	Eyongenyu	Mmbok	
24. Darkness	Nkue	Eshui	
25. Day	Mawte	Ndegamui	
26. Forest	Njum	Mpin	
27. Water	Odu	Jok	
28. District Officer	Nkale or D.O.	Ntankendok	
29. Grass	Bie	Ebuggu	
30. Grave	Song	Ebi	
31. Clerk	Clerki	Clerk	
32. Hill	Eku	Nju	
33. Language	Ehaw (English)	Esongenne	
34. Law	EBEN	EBOA	
35. Month	Ngwan	Ngaw	
36. Moon	Ngwan	Moshiggimi	
37. Night	Ehinti	Eshui	
38. Rain	Mbu	Ndiggi	
39. Soldiers	Soldier	Soldier	
40. Stars	NIELE	NINKE	
41. Stone	Ale	Nia	
42. Sun	Enye	Nduggu	
43. Tree	Jen	Njiggi	
44. Year	ISE	OSA	
	Drys = Ese	Drys = Junte	
	Rains = Nku	Rains = Nsuggaw	
45. Stream	Edi	Muejok	
46. Head	Ile (Iler)	Nduggu	4. Anatomy and Diseases
47. Hand	Mbeke (beker)	Nekie	
48. Foot	Mpeku	Ebiekfe	
49. Ear	ETUR	ETU	
50. Eye	MEDI	DI	

51. Mouth	ISHUAN	NSHU	
52. Body	Nkukumaw	Lebun	
53. Arm	EKE	OLOLEKI	
54. lLeg	Eku	Lena	
55. Back	MPI	MBI	
56. Blood	OKI	MEKKI	
57. Bone	Ehi	Effe	
58. Dysentery	Abutum	Lebenganne	
59. Face	Diebing	Beshuku	
60. Fever	Elu	Shuku	
61. Hair	Nyung	Nelundugu	
62. Leprosy	Ngum	Nsuck	
63. Medicine	Biawula	Salebugu	
64. Patient	Mawula	Mukukke	
65. Belly	ABUM	LEBUN	
66. Small pox	Epa	Kalema	
67. Wound	SI	EBESIKKI	
68. Illness	Ewula	Ekkuke	

*Words in capitals are words common to both dialects

Appendix 9 cont.: Comparative Words Of Mbo And Nkongwa Dialects Used In Farm And Country Life.

English	Mbo	Nkongho	Section
1. Ant	Okkunwi	Sui	5.Farm and Country life
2. Plantain	Atom	Lukundaw	
3. Cocoyam	NKANKU	NKAKALAW	
4. Basket	Esu	Edun or Nsa (big)	
5. Beans	Kwon	Moku	
6. Bird	Mana	Menaw	
7. Bush pig	Ngwu	Unkfe	
8. Corn	Mpe	Nchui	
9. Cow	NIYA	NIYAK	
10. Alligator	Ngan	Alligator	
11. Cutlas	PE	PIA	
12. Deer	Mpin	Ka	
13. Duck	Kunkala	Duckfowl	
14. Elephant	NZO	NZOK	
15.Farm	Nza	Te	
16. Farmer	Atiem	Mute	
17. Fowl	KU	KU	
18. Goat	MBO	MBU	
19. Ground nut	Njugesi as in Banyang	Mbeyang	
20. Gun	Nkube	Mumpette	
21. Hoe	Diong	Esaw	
22. Hunter	ESONGE	MUSONGAW	
23. Tiger	Ngwa	Nkaw	
24. Lizard	Ebikam	Edisua	
25. Monkey	KEM	KE	
26. Palm Tree	MPI	MPI	
27. Partridge	Kangbwe	Ncha	
28. Pawpaw	Abaw	Pawpaw	
29. Pawn	Ntiti	Ezok	
30. Pepper	Ndong	Susuu	5. Farm and

			Country Life.
31. Pig	NKUNYA	SKUUYA	
32. Powder	PIN	PIN	
33. Bush path	Njensa	Mueshi	
34. Sheep	Ewombo	Ngongaw	
35. Shot	Ngeri	Meliamme	
36. Slave	Nta	Muesok	
37. Yam	ELONG	ELONG	
38. Snake	Nyue	Nuggaw	
39. Soil	NDAW	NDAW	
40. Tobacco	Ta	Tabaw	
41. Trap	Alam	Mela	

*Words in capitals are words common to both dialects.

Appendix 9 cont.: Comparative Words Of Mbo And Nkongwa Dialects Used In Politics And Legal

English	Mbo	Nkongho	Section
1. Request	Adeju	Sekezu	6. Political and Legal
2. Boundary	Njiempu	Nze	
3. Defendant	Nsuewu	Mpute	
4. Enemy	Mompia	Mombugu	
5. Falsehood	Nun (O ti nun)	Ndanga	
6. Fight	Nsum	Mette	
7. Fine	Ohminga	Umfi-Onka	
8. Friend	Manta	Nsuggu	
9. Jail	NEMIE	NDACHE	
10. Oath	Mbenti	Eboa	
11. Palaver	Akan	Ma	
12. Plaintiff	Nsowo	Nkeputemn	
13. Prisoner	Mawmia	Mondache	
14. Treasurer	Akonki	Nkawnemu	
15. Theft	EJI	NJI	
16. Truth	Atite	Undunte	
17. War	Bin	Pi	
18. Witness	Otemmimpung	Witness	

*Words in capitals are words common to both dialects

English	Mbo	Nkongwa	Section
1. Account	LANGA	ILAKE	8. Trade
2. Axe	Ehon	Efun	
3. Bamboo	Esang	Umfwe	
4. Cask	Cask	Cask	
5. Blacksmith	Monji	Mola	
6. Builder	NLOWONDA	NKOKOND	
7. Boyer	NJA	NDAW	
8. Clay	NDAW	NDAW	
9. Trade	Duan	Esigaw	
10. Factory	NDANGA	NDANKA	
11. Goods	Nga	Esigaw	
12. Hammer	Njoinje	Nzu	
13. Load	Ntu	Sju	
14. Kernels	MBA	MBANG	
15. Carrier	Montu	Bamiti	
16. Labourer	Ntemawom	Ntete	
17. Ladder	Ekuleta	Mekok	
18. Market	Duan	Eseknji	
19. Nail	Tang	Mbe	
20. Palm Oil	Mum	Mukfe	
21. Plank	Plank	Epebong	
22. Potter	Abunempe	Mwompe	
23. Pot	MPE	MPE	
24. Price	24. Price	24. Price	24. Price
25. Profit	25. Profit	25. Profit	25. Profit
26. Roof	26. Roof	26. Roof	26. Roof
27. Rope (a) factured (b) bush	27. Rope (a) factured (b) bush	27. Rope (a) factured (b) bush	27. Rope (a) factured (b) bush
28. Salt	28. Salt	28. Salt	28. Salt
29. Saw	29. Saw	29. Saw	29. Saw
30. Sawyer	30. Sawyer	30. Sawyer	30. Sawyer

31. Seller	31. Seller	31. Seller	31. Seller
32. Canoe	32. Canoe	32. Canoe	32. Canoe
33. Skins	33. Skins	33. Skins	33. Skins
34. Specie	34. Specie	34. Specie	34. Specie
35. Spirits	35. Spirits	35. Spirits	35. Spirits
36. Trader	36. Trader	36. Trader	36. Trader
37. Wages	37. Wages	37. Wages	37. Wages

*Words in capitals are words common to both dialects

Appendix 9 cont.: Comparison of Mangen and Nkongwa Verbs

English	Mangen	Nkongho	
1. Meet	Mbomi	Nkawni	
2. Beg	Lunkuaw	Nzongote	
3. Arrive	Mape	Mapa	
4. Tie	Ngangamaw	Ngette	
5. Deny	Penn	Mpoente	
6. Want	Nhe	Ngonke	
7. Fly	Apumpi	Mpenni	
8. Wash	Mwoba	Ngokenyi	
9. Cut	Nsen	Elonte	
10. Bark	Njong	Umbege	
11. Hear	Mwo	Letse	
12. Fight	Wana	Lette	
13. Eat	Nda	Ndegga	
14. Awake	Hese	Swassi	
15. Burn	Ntume	Bunse	
16. Salute	Nyami	Nagasi	
17. Teach	Elumpe	Ndintemmi	
18. Learn	Mpumpi	Mboa	
19. Die	Awe	Agui	
20. Have	Ngaw	Ngonge	
21. Use	Mbonna	Mbwante	
22. Go	Kaw	Kawge	
23. Know	Mbi	Mpi	
24. Take	Te	Ntu	

25. Spend	Jepimmi	Nshite	
26. Clean	Shue	Nsokka	
27. Kill	Awu	Nkfinni	
28. Call	Keng	Nkie	
29. Buy	Njan	Nsa	
30. Fall	Nkpe	Mfue	
31. See	Nto	Nge	
32. Carry	Nye	Ngie	
33. Cook	Jamma	Nchempe	
34. Speak	Yamma	Nsongonne	
35. Do	BUN	MBU	
36. Come	SA	PA	
37. Send	Lom	Mishu	
38. Walk	Kaw	Nkette	
39. Give	Be	Nte	
40. Sleep	Nkuna	Nakasi	
41. Steal	Jl	Jl	
42. Dance	Ngutibu	Esaki	

*Words in capitals are words common to both dialects

Appendix 10

A critique memo about the Assesement report.

No. 1133/1010/1923

30th July 1923

The Resident
Cameroon Province
Buea

The Divisional Officer
Mamfe

RE: MBO TRIBAL AREA, MAMFE DIVISION.
ASSESSMENENT REPORT BY MR. J.W.C.
ROTHERFOORD
DIVISIONAL OFFICER
The Resident
Cameroon Province
Buea

The Divisional Officer
Mamfe

RE: MBO TRIBAL AREA, MAMFE DIVISION.
ASSESSMENENT REPORT BY MR. J.W.C.
ROTHERFOORD
DIVISIONAL OFFICER

Your Memo. No. 393/14/23 of 7th July, 1923

Para. 1.2. I don't suppose they had acquired enough self-conscious unity to feel the separation. If they had, they must console themselves with the thought that selfless determination is a higher creed than self-determination.

Para 1.4. Are you sure that Nkongwa are Mbo or that Nkongwa and Mangen are of the same tribe? There is not much similarity of tongue between the two (para 1.33), not more than you would expect to find between any two neighboring clans of similar tribal origin. The Mangen are cannibals but the Nkongho apparently are not. Twins in Mangen never reach maturity; in Nkongwa they are a cause of rejoicing. Circumcision in Mangen takes place at three or four years, but in Nkongho two weeks after birth. Religion in Mangen centers in a house, in Nkongwa in a grove. All these striking differences of custom do not seem to me to indicate that both clans are of the same tribe. I should have thought it much more likely that the Nkongwa and the Bangwa who have much custom in common, were of the same stock in spite of their recent hostilities. I am not forgetting paras 6.142 and 8.182-8.186 a of the Bangwa report but vocabularies were not I think taken and compared.

Para 1.17: I thought anything over 6 inches square was good enough for mice.

Para. 2. 33: I do not follow the argument in support of the unity of Mbo.

Para. 2.48. I should like to compare the Nkongwa and Bangwa vocabularies some time if you could get the latter.

Para. 4.91- 4.104: The painstaking industry involved in the collection of these figures I can fully appreciate; some of your results are interesting,, especially the Mangen excess of 285 males over females , though I do not think cannibalism can have had any effect on Mangen fertility generally nor the wishes of the women on the sex of the unborn. They seem a decadent clan.

Para. 5.106 - 5.111: This form of village administration with minor differences seems to prevail among all the plateau clans to the eastern border of the Bamenda Division.

Para. 5.124 – 5.130: The compromise will not attract me until I know that Bangwa and Nkongho are not tribally connected. Neither

Mengen nor Nkongwa seems to have any connexion with Banyang, and if they were severe altogether from the Tali (Banyang) Native Court I don't see what the hope of a central Native Authority. If it is an ideal to be aimed at for the Division which is after all, an artificial and alien institution need be appreciably postponed. To make Nkongho a branch of Tali (Banyang) instead of Fontem (Bangwa) Native Court seems to require stronger argument than is so far adduced. The hostility of Nkongwa to Bangwa is no more I suppose than that of Mengen to Banyang.

Para. 9.188: With the help of para. 1.200 I still do not see what enable him to limit his output means also left guessing so to the first part.

Para. 10.213: Both semi-Bantu I think, but I will consult Mr. Talbot.

Para. 10.226: 'Lived with' but not 'cohabited'.

Para. 11.245: I am interested in Dr. Quirk's opinion, and hope he will have the opportunity of seeing an actual post-mortem some time, I often wondered whether what they thought to be a tiger sitting up on its hind legs was purely a figment of the imagination or had some kind of concrete existence.

Para. 11.234: Any laxity of the marriage tie seems to result in a low proportion of children, of the EKOI.

Para. 11.237: I doubt if the advent of the European has relaxed abstract sexual morality, though it has provided facilities for dissolving the marriage tie.

Para. 11.256: Any suspicion of a leopard society? If not, how did the Mundinde, effect the expulsion?

Para. 11.262: 'Lappa' is 'pidgin' for 'wrapper'?

You have treated the subject in a characteristically thorough way. If such things are done in the green tress of the Mbo what will be done in the dry of Banyang?

Sign
Acting Resident,
Cameroons Province.

Response to Resident'

Response to Resident's Memo No. 1133/1010/1923 of July, 1923.

MBO TRIBAL AREA, MAMFE DIVISION: ASSESSEMENT REPORT.

a. I have to acknowledge your comments under the above memorandum.

b. **Paragraph 1.2.:** Paragraph 1.19 should imply this. They might retort that Mangen determination was not considered.

c. **Paragraph 1.4:** Without speaking the dialect I cannot be certain. At a guess all the plateau fringe are remotely connected. Nkongwa consists of two sections. The original Nkongwa (Fonwen section) would not seem to have had any connection with Bangwa. The ingrafted section (Fonjungo) has diluted Bangwa customs. Bamileke – if that is a genuine name, which is doubtful - would seem to share the Bangwa culture.

d. Information reference the Mbo is nil, and unless records are at Buea can only obtained from the French. Hence the difficulty of positive definition of the Mbo tribe. Paragraphs 1.42-1.62 point out that the Fonwen element of Nkongwa forms the original clan and that its natural culture is of the forest type akin to Mangen, Banyang, and all forest units, although the inclusion of the Fonjungo element is superimposing Bangwa or Bamileke customs.

e. The tribe is a loose expression everywhere, would seem to have been an especially vague relationships amongst the Mbo to whom it means the clans under the German post at Ngongu (MBO). Each clan realizes connexion with its neighbours only. Thus Nkongwa realize connexion with Singam and Ntsem, Mangen with Mankwe and Mama.

f. The differences are twins and circumcisions are serious but I should like to reverify that the customs stated in paragraph 241 obtained originally in both sections of the Nkongho clan. As to

religion: in Mangen it centers in a house IN A GROOVE, in Nkongho in a grove. As to cannibalism; the Mangen admit that they were cannibals, but although the Nkongwa and the Bangwa do not, their denial has not been tested.

g. In summary my opinion is that the Fonwen (or original) section of the Nkongwa clan is not of the same stock as Bangwa, and that the Fonjungo (or alien) section is of Bamileke and therefore probably of Bangwa stock.

h. **Paragraph 1.17:** I wrote rashly from memory of a conversation with Mr. Hunt about the Esuetan mica mine. Ho pieces six inches square were produced.

i. **Paragraph 2.33:** Assuming the German classification of Mbo to be correct the connexion between Singam (admittedly Mbo) and Nkongwa points to Nkongho being also Mbo. Moisel F1 which distinguishes Nkongho and Kabo as separate tribes and divides the Mangen clan in half does not help.

j. **Paragraph 2.47:** Every clan I have met whether connected with others or not is ready to point out its own particular place of origin. For example Wetschu and Otutu, Etchia, and Mangom (an Ngi family) all do this. Mount Koa was original habitat of Mangen is not more than ten miles xxxx from any Mangen hamlet.

k. **Paragraph 2.48:** Noted.

l. **Paragraph 4.91 - 4.104:** I meant to imply that the murder of superfluous girls might possibly be discovered and not that the parents wishes could of themselves have any effect on sex.

m. **Paragraph 5.124 - 5.130:** The hostility of Mangen to Banyang died with the last generation, and neither side is now aggressive. That of Nkongwa to Bangwa is a present fact and very virulent (See paragraph 2.31 and 2.32). To place Nkongwa under the Fontem Native court is not practical politics, and to avoid this they chose in 1920 to be attached temporarily to Tali Native Court in spite of its distance.

n. The creation of a number of small Native Courts is to be deprecated as encouraging the separatist tendency so strong in this division. My aim in proposing a sub-court of Tali was to keep always to the fore the inclusion of the clan in the wider unit, and to lead the individual to regard himself as part of a district so wide that he will learn in a few years to realize himself as part of the division and eventually come to understand his place as a citizen. The effect will have to be obtained by artificial means, because to the forest culture all administration would seem to be foreign and a novelty. Administration can however be introduced along the natural lines of the clan council as developed into the Native Court. Inquiry drives me more and more to the conclusion that the family and clan councils are not administrative in our sense. Customary rules would seem the substitute for administration among primitive communities, and it owing to the difference in function between the family and clan councils and the German administrative machinery of chief and headman that the former has continued to survive. The gradual spread of education has threatened its existence, but recognition has come in time to induce it to administer and to develop there from higher administrative centers. The whole organization is bound to be artificial, and if it owing to the difference in function between the family and clan councils and the German administrative machinery of chief and headman that the former has continued to survive. The gradual spread of education has threatened its existence, but recognition has come in time to induce it to administrative centers. The whole organization is bound to be artificial, and if it is to be successful - very gradual.

o. **Paragraph 9.188:** I regret my obscurity. I meant that the industrial worker does not depend for subsistence on the profits of his industry. Taxation of the cost of his subsistence plus the profits of his industry may induce him to increase his output without increasing the agricultural task of the women (see paragraph 9.189).

p. **Paragraph 9.203:** I would imply that the family and not the individual is in practice the unit of taxation, and that when savings are invested in women additional taxation will not induce as great additional savings as it would were the investment in a permanent commodity. The substitution of another form of fixed capital will

enable taxation to increase savings by means of a graduated income tax.

q. **Paragraph 9.213:** But paragraph 9.212 argues that Mangen are Bantu on the authority of Sir H. Johnson. The connexion between Mangen and Bakosi is not doubtful.

r. **Paragraph 10.226:** I should have very strong “cohabited”.

s. **Paragraph 11.256.** The suspicions are very strong. Hence the last sentence of the paragraph. There are

Notes on Post Mortem Examination

Note on Post Mortem Examinations for the detection of witches as practiced by the Mangen and Nkongwa Tribes, by Dr. E.J. Quirk M.B.E (Medical Officer Mamfe Division).

The procedure appears to be that an incision is made in the middle line and the chest and abdomen are examined. If a black mass is found in the thorax (i.e. above the diaphragm) this is supposed to be a witch, which has been transformed into a “tiger” and has died. Similarly if this appearance is found below the diaphragm it is attributed to an “elephant”. The “black mass” is almost certainly blood clot and would only be found in those cases where death is due to rupture of an internal blood vessel. This is not a very common occurrence and would account for witches being only found occasionally at the post mortem.

1410/1010/1923

27th September 1923

The Resident
Cameroons Province
Buea

The Honourable,
The Secretary,
Southern Province
Lagos

MBO ASSESSMENT REPORT (MAMFE DIVISION)

Herewith submitted an Assessment Report on the Mbo Tribal Area by Mr. J. W. C. Rutherfoord, District Officer in charge of the Mamfe Division.

The Report is dated 18th June 1923, and is accompanied by all required appendices, map, Resident's comments, and District Officer's answers, all in duplicate. The Report appears to the Resident to have been prepared with that meticulous care to be expected from Mr. Rutherfoord.

A loose copy of the District Assessment Record sheet is enclosed for return in the event of His Honour approving the assessment.

Sign
Resident
Cameroons Province

B.N.

No. B.1469/1923

MEMORANDUM

From: Secretary, Southern Province, Lagos

**To: The Honourable, The Senior Resident, Cameroons
Province, Buea**

Date: 10 th November, 1923

MBO ASSESSMENT REPORT (MAMFE DIVISION)

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your memorandum No. 1410/1010/1923 of 27th September, 1923, and to return the Assessment sheet duly approved and signed.

I am to add that His Honour has found this report very interesting reading but have no special comments to make.

Secretary
Southern Province.

Extracted from Provincial, March, quarterly Report, 1922 in Up 977/23.

48. Mr. Rutherfoord was touring for 66 days out of 90 mainly on assessment work in the Mbo District, and Mr. O'Sullivan for 47 days assessing the Assumbo District. Mr. Rutherfoord remarks:

“The curious tendency on the eastern boundary to exaggerate the number of payers was further exemplified in the Mbo assesement. In the course of which children were constantly discovered who had paid once or twice on account of deceased parent.”

No. 1764/1010/1923

4th December, 1923

The Resident
Cameroons Province
Buea

The Divisional Officer
Mamfe

Mbo Assessment Report

1. Herewith District Assessment Record Sheet duly approved.
2. “His Honour has found this report very interesting reading but has no special comments to make.”

Cameroons Province

R.O.M.

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Glossary

Akwaw - the equivalent of *ndugu nkeh* (ancestor's head) for the Nkongho.

Bafaw - Bafo

Belong - *Melong*

Bullibuk - *mbu-lebbk* (9 goats) in Lekongho

Chang - Dschang

Canarium edule terebinthaceae - plum/bush butter

Chinda - Nchinda

Ekaleh - juju (stilt dancer) of the Nkongho; walks on stilts sometimes more than two metres tall.

Ekekweh - school for maidens to prepare them in all aspects of the institution of matrimony and society.

Esere - bean reputed for its high level of toxicity. Administered by the Calabari to anyone accused of witchcraft or any other odious crime. If nothing happened to the person, then he or she was judged innocent. Could be equated to the case of sending thunder common to certain Cameroonian Grassfields Traditions

Esomba - possibly a deformation of the Mbo appellation Esombeh

Esawmiamyi - Eshwamanyi

Esigemanza - Sikamanja

Etobang - Etawang

Fawmainyi - Nfomanyi

Fawsak - Nforsack

Fertility - festival

Folepe - Nfolebe

Fomila - Nfomelack

Fomilong - Nfomilong (His Royal Majesty of Mbetta Village)

Fowung - Nforgu (His Royal Majesty of Lebock Village)

Fonjokarebong - Fonzock-Lebong (His Royal Majesty of Mbemfe Village)

Fonwen - Nfomven (His Royal Majesty of Lekweh Village)

Fonjungu - Nfonjungo (His Royal Majesty of Njungo Village)

Fonke - Nfonkeuh - (His Royal Majesty of Fonke Village)

Folepe - Nfolebeh - (His Royal Majesty of Lebeh Village)

Fonkeng-nya - Nfonkennya (His Royal Majesty of Nzeleteh Village)

Fotabong – Nfotabong (His Royal Majesty of Dinte Village).

Forzeh – Nfozeh (His Royal Majesty of Njientu Village)

Fondsa – Nfonsam

Fonwa - The hereditary keeper of the Four Stones at Suke

Fongdongera - Fondungulla

Fonjock - Nfonzock

Foreke Tscha Tscha – Foreke Cha-Cha

Fosse – Nfossoh

Hunyapa – Hunyampe

Mankum Society (Ke Mankum) – Also called **Mwankum** [**Etemnzoh** among the Nkonghos], it is the supreme executive, judicial and legislative authority in the land.

Has also been referred to by many European authors as ‘secret society’ in an obvious attempt to demonize it and create fear among the people as to its wicked *raison d’être*.

Mbokampo – Mbokambo

Mubangi – Ubangi (A river in the present day Central Africa Republic).

Nkongwa - Nkongho (made up of ten Chiefdoms as of 2015: Dinteh, Fonkih, Lebeeh, Lebock, Lekweeh, Mbemfeh, Mbetta, Ngientu, Njungu, Nzeleted).

Ngongo – Ngungu [site of the old German fort]: a strategically located hill overseeing portions of both Nkongho and Betang territories.

Niankpe – Nyangkwe (The paramount authority of the land amongst the Mangan element of the Mbos).

Njingu – Njungu

Njuk - Nzock

Ntvem – Ntiem

Nkaw – Tiger

N’singem - Singam

Palava House - Rutherford is probably referring to **Etemzoh** (Nkongho) and **Nyangkwe** (Mangen)

Sanjo – Sangnjo (Sanchou)

Sam - Nsam

Sanchu – Sangnjo (Sanchou)

Sikamanja - Esigemanzaa

Singam – Nsingem

Suke - Sokeh (A powerful village in Lebock where the Nkongho-Mbo Ancestors were buried).

Tru – Juju among the Nwe (Bangwa)

Victoria – Limbe (A coastal city in the Southwest Region of Cameroon)

Yaunde - Yaounde (political capital of the Republic of Cameroon)

The Mbos are a large ethnic group in present day Cameroon and an important and powerful group until the Anglo-French partition. Following the defeat of the colonial power, Germany, in the First World War (WWI), the League of Nations in a March 1916 Mandate, partitioned the territory into two unequal halves among the victorious imperial powers of England and France, to be governed in trust as from 1922. As a result of the partition, the Mbos, who happened to find themselves right along the lines of division, were thrust under French and English administration, respectively. Roughly two thirds of the Mbos found themselves in what had then become French (East) Cameroon, while the remaining one third was thrust under British (West) Cameroon rule. Today the Mbos, as a whole, occupy parts of the Littoral and Western (Francophone) and Southwest (Anglophone) regions of Cameroon. While the Francophone Mbos have, over the decades, benefited from all aspects of economic, social, political, and agricultural development, the Anglophone Mbos have been isolated and deprived of all the outward and physical (tangible) aspects of socio-economic and political progress. The persistence of such colonial divisions makes for inequality among the Mbos, despite their common ancestry, ethnicity and cultural heritage. This book seeks to update on diverse aspects of the study conducted on the British Mbos by J.W.C. Rutherford and others as a first step toward a comprehensive publication on the Anglophone Mbos.

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